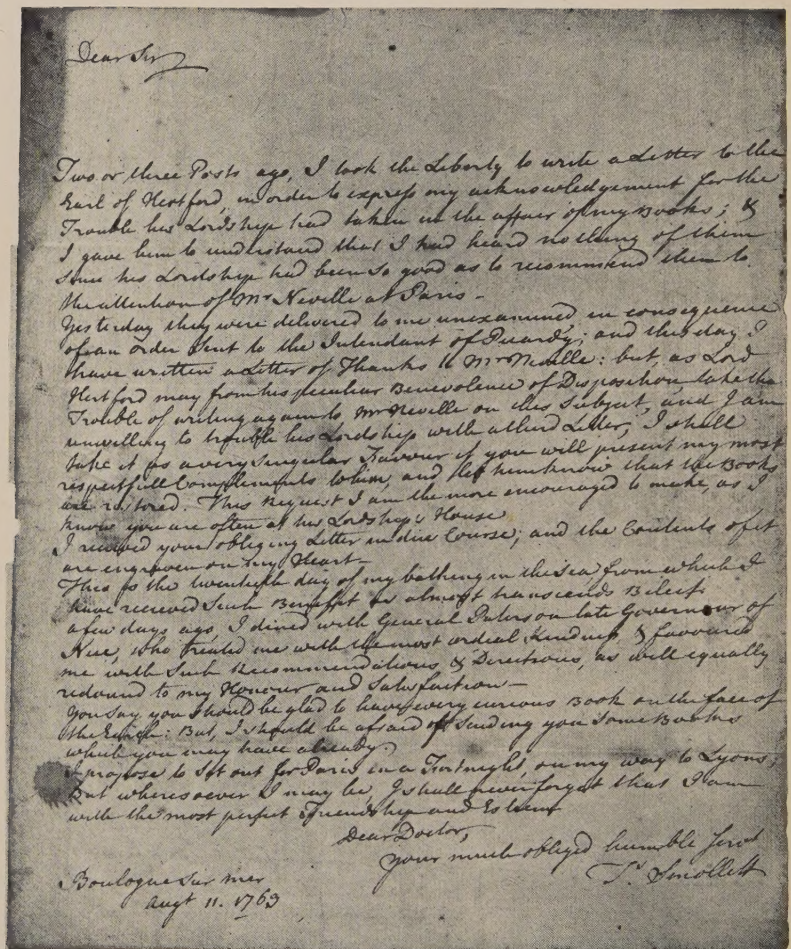
LETTERS

OF

TOBIAS SMOLLETT

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



Dear Sir

Two or three Posts ago, I took the Liberty to write a Letter to the Earl of Hertford, in order to express my acknowledgement for the Trouble his Lordship had taken in the affair of my Books; & I gave him to understand that I had heard no thing of them since his Lordship had been so good as to recommend them to the attention of Mr Neville at Paris -
Yesterday they were delivered to me unexamined in consequence of an Order sent to the Intendant of Picardy; and this day I have written a Letter of Thanks to Mr Neville: but, as Lord Hertford may from his peculiar Benevolence of Disposition take the Trouble of writing again to Mr Neville on this Subject, and I am unwilling to importune his Lordship with a third Letter, I shall esteem it as a very singular Favour if you will present my most respectful Compliments to him, and let him know that the Books are restored. This Request I am the more encouraged to make, as I know you are often at his Lordship's House
I received your obliging Letter in due Course; and the Contents of it are engraven on my Heart -
This is the twentieth day of my bathing in the Sea from which I flatter myself I have received such Benefit as almost to preclude the necessity of a few days ago, I dined with General Peters our late Governour of Nice, who treated me with the most ordial Kindness & Friendship me with such Recommendations to Genoa, as will equally redound to my Honour and Satisfaction -
You say you should be glad to have every curious Book on the Face of the Earth: But, I should be afraid of sending you some Books which you may have already
I propose to set out for Paris in a Fortnight, on my way to Lyons; but wheresoever I may be, I shall remember that I am with the most perfect Friendship and Esteem

Dear Doctor,
your much obliged humble Servt
T. Smollett

Boulogne sur mer
Augt 11. 1763

FACSIMILE OF LETTER 63

(IN POSSESSION OF PROFESSOR C. B. TINKER)

THE LETTERS OF Tobias Smollett, M.D.

COLLECTED AND EDITED

By EDWARD S. NOYES, Ph.D.

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TO

Professor Chauncey Brewster Tinker

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INTRODUCTION

I

THIS collection has as its purpose the gathering in convenient form of the letters of Tobias Smollett. In spite of his importance in the literary history of the eighteenth century, little is known of Smollett's life. No critical biography exists. In the numerous Memoirs and Lives written about him appear conflicting statements, conjectures, and occasionally a total lack of information concerning important events in his career. It was hoped, therefore, that a search for first-hand evidence might throw light on some of these obscurities. A collection of his own letters would at least provide a foundation of comparatively well-established facts.

Smollett's letters are, however, extremely rare. Through advertising, personal inquiries of collectors and dealers, search in the files of magazines, and in the MS. collections of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Advocates' Library, the effort has been made to furnish as complete a collection as possible. It is obvious that such an effort cannot hope to be entirely successful. Owners of manuscript letters may not have been reached, or may have preferred the possession of

an unprinted autograph to the yielding of that treasure for general inspection. The second of these contingencies seems doubtful in view of the generous aid in his search which the editor has received from a great many collectors, whose special courtesies are later acknowledged. As a result of the search, seventy-four documents are listed herein. Texts of two of these have not been found, although the MSS have been sold within the last ten years. In four other cases fragments already in print have not been completed. The full text, however, of sixty-eight letters is given, fifteen of which have never before been published. Additions, some of which are considerable, have been made to the texts of thirteen others. Since the largest number of Smollett's letters hitherto published in any one volume is twenty-eight, the present collection may be deemed, in point of numbers, moderately complete. The search, incidentally, is still going on, and it is hoped that the publication of this volume may lead to the unearthing of additional MSS.

The letters themselves are in many cases interesting chiefly to the special student of Smollett. They seldom indulge in that gossip, literary or social, which makes delightful reading of the correspondence of some of Smollett's contemporaries. Their author was one of the busiest men of his time, who could have found little opportunity to indulge in the pleasure of self-expression in his letter-writing. He was undoubtedly sincere when he concluded an epistle to one of his best friends: "In short, dear John, I am so jaded that I now write

with infinite reluctance." Hence most of the letters in this collection seem to have been called forth by business. Appeals for financial assistance, — for himself or for others, — letters of introduction, notes to publishers concerning his work for them, constitute the bulk of the correspondence. In view of their rarity, a value quite apart from their general interest attaches to these letters which have been preserved, and it has been deemed advisable to print them all. They have at least the merit of sincerity, for they could never have been written with a view to publication.

II

Since the purpose of the book is to let Smollett give evidence about himself, the letters are arranged chronologically, without foot-notes or any other break in their continuity. Whenever they have been copied from the MSS, the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the originals have been preserved. As Smollett came closer in these matters to modern usage than did many of his contemporaries, this method will not detract from the ease with which the letters can be read, and it indicates at once those which have been taken from the MSS at first-hand.

Numbers in the texts of the letters refer to notes, grouped in the second part of the book. These notes have occasionally been expanded beyond the scope of the letters themselves, in order to permit discussion of contemporary allusions to Smollett in rare pamphlets

hitherto unmentioned, or of similar new material. This is perhaps permissible, in view of the absence of a thoroughly documented biography. The notes also provide information as to the discovery and present location (when known) of each letter. A list of letters in chronological order precedes the text, and, an alphabetical list of persons written to and an index are appended.

Despite prolonged search it has been found impossible to identify all the persons alluded to. The list of correspondents shows many well-known names: Garrick, Samuel Richardson, John Wilkes, and David Hume, among others. All too frequently for the editor's happiness, however, Smollett referred to individuals who have apparently left no footprints on the sands of time. The unidentified persons usually seem to have been unfortunate Scots, stranded in hostile London, whom he was commending to the charity of their more prosperous compatriots. Although he had some disastrous experiences of ingratitude, Smollett seems to have been incapable of withstanding such appeals, however obscure and friendless the appellant.

III

The largest collection of Smollett's autograph letters is now at Cameron, Dumbartonshire, Scotland, in the possession of Major Alexander P. D. Telfer-Smollett, D.S.O., a direct descendant of the novelist's sister. Of the eighteen letters there preserved, most have been published, though only in deleted forms. Thanks to

their owner's courtesy, all the MSS have been inspected: as time did not permit their being copied on the spot, Major Telfer-Smollett allowed the use of copies already prepared by his father. The British Museum has eight autographs, most of which have already been printed, and all of which have been inspected by the present editor. Through the kindness of Miss Belle da Costa Greene, director of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, copies of two unpublished letters have been secured. W. G. Legg, Esq., of Rothley, near Leicester, England, has two letters and a hitherto unpublished memorandum, of which he has kindly sent copies. Copies of other letters, not previously printed, have been obtained through the courtesy of the following owners:

R. B. Adam, Esq., of Buffalo, New York
L. Bamberger, Esq., of Newark, New Jersey
Oliver R. Barrett, Esq., of Chicago, Illinois
William Brown, Esq., of Edinburgh, Scotland
Colonel A. C. Goodyear, of Buffalo, New York
Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, through the assistance of Professor R. W. Kelsey
Harold Murdock, Esq., of Harvard University
Professor C. B. Tinker, of Yale University

From Professor Tinker came the suggestion of this collection, and to his unfailing assistance and kindness is due its completion; for its faults the editor is alone responsible. To Dr. Howard S. Buck, of the Department of English, Yale University, acknowledgments of

indebtedness are due for his permission to use the material in his *A Study in Smollett* (Yale University Press, 1925), as well as for helpful suggestions. To Harold Stein, Esq., is due the discovery of five letters. Since its original presentation to the Graduate School of Yale University as a dissertation in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the collection has been considerably increased.

One of Smollett's early biographers, Dr. Robert Anderson, began to collect these letters, and printed in successive editions of his *Smollett's Miscellaneous Works* a gradually growing Appendix of the letters as they came into his possession. The largest number, twenty-eight, appeared in the last edition (1820), now not easily obtainable. In several cases the texts were incomplete. Dr. John Moore, another biographer and a personal friend of the novelist, printed parts of some of the letters written to him, in a Memoir prefixed to the London (1797) edition of Smollett's *Works*. His modesty, however, led him to omit most of the references to himself in these letters, which were reprinted by Anderson in their incomplete state. As these make up the bulk of the collection at Cameron, it has been possible to substitute full texts in the present volume. In 1859 Joseph Irving published privately *Some Account of the Family of Smollett of Bonhill*, which included nine letters from the Cameron MSS. This is a rare book, and the texts of the letters are not all complete.

In addition to these books, separate letters of Smollett have been printed in some fifteen other books and

magazines, from 1768 to 1913, to which specific references are made in the notes. Some of the letters have already made many appearances. For example, one to Richard Smith, of New Jersey, was first printed in the *Portfolio*, a Philadelphia magazine, in February, 1801. It was copied by the *European Magazine* in 1804, and in Dr. Anderson's 1820 edition. It formed part of an article entitled "Some Inedited Memorials of Smollett," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1859; it was reprinted in Chambers's Life in 1867, and was finally sent in to *Notes and Queries* (Fifth Series, i, 384). The fact that this same letter, in spite of its frequent publication, has several times been denominated as "hitherto unprinted" indicates the need of a definitive collection.

IV

The results of this attempt to form a complete collection of Smollett's letters may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. The discovery of fifteen hitherto unprinted letters and the addition of new material, in varying amounts, to thirteen letters already published.

2. The establishment of important facts in connection with Smollett's life, which were either unknown or unsupported by evidence, *e.g.:*

(*a*) That his relations with his cousins of Bonhill were not hostile, as has been supposed, but friendly;

(*b*) That his financial straits were more serious and of longer duration than has been believed;

(*c*) That he was considered for a pension by the Earl of Bute, but preferred a consulship;

(*d*) That he maintained communication, through Dr. Moore, with a large circle of friends in Glasgow, who have now for the first time, so far as possible, been identified;

(*e*) That his health, within a month of his death, was surprisingly robust, contrary to previous statements.

3. The construction of a hypothesis to account for his friendship with Lady Vane and the consequent appearance of the "Memoirs of a Lady of Quality," in *Peregrine Pickle*.

4. A new explanation of his breaking friendship with John Wilkes.

5. In general, the presentation of Smollett's character in a clearer light, as a result of letters further disclosing his intimacy with Wilkes, John Home, and others.

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PART I

THE LETTERS

THE LETTERS

Letter 1

The earliest recorded letter of Smollett's was dated November 24, 1735. No copy of this letter has been procured. It was described in *Autograph Prices Current* (1917–18, p. 217) as being in the form of twenty-two lines of verses, addressed to J. Armstrong, a fellow student at Glasgow, and inscribed "Tobie Smalet." The letter is an appeal for protection from indignities inflicted upon the writer by other students. It was sold on January 1, 1918, to W. T. Spencer, a bookseller in London. He has not been able to find any trace either of the letter or its re-sale. Its existence is here recorded in order to keep the list of letters as complete as possible.

Letter 2

TO JAMES SMOLLETT OF BONHILL,[1] ESQ. TO BE FOUND AT THE HOUSE OF MR^{S} M'GREGORE,[2] NIDDERIES WYND,[3] EDINBURGHE.

Dear Cousin

I received the enclosed[4] March 25th, in which you will see the motive that induced me to trouble you with

this. I would have sent it ere now, but did not know how to direct for you, till M^r^ Seton [5] came to this place, & I hope you will be so good as to free my brother from his uncertainty by honouring him with your commands p^r^ first opportunity, as you will thus increase the obligations not only of him, but Likewise of your most Gratefull [6]

& humble Ser^tt^

Tobias Smollett

Glasgow *April 4^th^ 1737*

Letter 3

(TO A MR. BARCLAY,[1] OF GLASGOW)

Dear Sir, —

I am this minute happy in yours, which affords me all the satisfaction of hearing from you, without the anxiety naturally flowing from its melancholy occasion; for I was informed of the decease of our late friend [2] by a letter from Mr. Gordon,[3] dated the day after his death.

All those (as well as my dear Barclay) who knew the intimacy betwixt us, must imagine that no stroke of fate could make a deeper impression on my soul than that which severs me forever from one I so entirely loved! from one who merited universal esteem; and

who, had he not been cut off in the very blossom of his being, would have been an ornament to society, the pride and joy of his parents, and a most inestimable jewel to such as were attached to him, as we were, by the sacred ties of love and friendship. O my dear Ritchie, little did I think, at our last parting, we should never meet again! How many hours, days, nay years, of enjoyment did I promise myself on the prospect of seeing thee again! How has my heart throbbed at thy imaginary presence! And how oft have I conversed with thee by the indulgence of a dream! Even when I waked to my disappointment, I flew to pleasing hope for refuge, and reflected on the probability of real gratification! But now, alas! even that forsakes me. Hope itself lies buried with its object, and remembrance strives to soothe itself by recalling the delightful scenes of past intercourse! Dear brother, this is a theme I scarce can quit; my imagination broods o'er my melancholy, and teems with endless sentiments of grief and tenderness. My weeping muse would fain pay a tribute to his manes; and were I vain enough to think my verse would last, I would perpetuate his friendship and his virtue.[4]

As for the particulars you expect from me, you must wait until I shall be better informed myself: for, to tell you an extraordinary truth, I do not know, as yet, whether you had better congratulate or condole with me — I wish I was near you, that I might pour forth my heart before you, and make you judge of its dictates, and the several steps I have lately taken; in

which case, I am confident you and all honest men would acquit my principles, howsoever my prudentials might be condemned.[5] However, I have moved into the house where the late John Douglas,[6] surgeon, died, and you may henceforth direct for Mr. Smollett, surgeon, in Downing Street, West.[7] My respects wait on Mr. John Gordon and family, and please let my condolence and best wishes be made acceptable to the parents of my much lamented friend. At the same time, receive yourself the additional portion of the affection he possessed in the heart of

your own,

T^s^ Smollett

Willy Wood, who is just now drinking a glass with me, offers you his good wishes, and desires you to present his compliments to Miss Becky Bogle.[8]

T. S.

May 22 1744

Letter 4

(TO DR. ALEXANDER CARLYLE) [1]

(*1747*)

I would have been more punctual had it not been for Oswald [2] the musician, who promised from time to time to set your songs to music, that I might have it in

my power to gratify the author in you, by sending your productions so improved. Your gay catches please me much, and the Lamentations of Fanny Gardner [3] has a good deal of nature in it, though, in my opinion, it might be bettered. Oswald has set it to an excellent tune, in the Scotch style; but as it is not yet published, I cannot regale you with it at present.

Letter 5

(TO DR. ALEXANDER CARLYLE)

. . . The whole [1] was begun and finished in the compass of eight months. During which time several intervals happened of two, three, and four weeks, wherein I did not set pen to paper. . . . In the midst of my satisfaction, however, I am not a little mortified to find the characters strangely misapplied to particular men whom I never had the least intention to ridicule, — by which means I have suffered very much in my moral capacity. Some persons, to whom I have been extremely obliged, being weak enough to take umbrage at many passages in the work on the supposition that I myself am the hero of the book, and they of consequence concerned in the history. I take the opportunity of declaring to you, in all the sincerity of the most unreserved friendship, that no person living is

aimed at in all the first part of the book, that is, while the scene is laid in Scotland;[2] and that (the account of the expedition to Carthagena excepted) the whole is not so much a representation of my life as that of many other needy Scotch surgeons whom I have known either personally or by report. The character of Strap (who I find is a favourite among the ladies) is partly taken from life,[3] but the circumstances of his attachment are entirely feigned. . . .

June 7, 1748

Letter 6

(TO ?) [1]

Dear Sir,

I wrote to Mr Palmer of Ironmonger's Hall [2] that he should certainly hear from me this week; persuaded that I should have been able to transact that affair with Mr. M——,[2] so as to settle with Mr. Palmer: but I have been taken with a violent cold which had like to have fallen upon my lungs and has confined me since Monday last. I have an appointment with Mr. M—— on Monday next; but in the mean time I should take it as a great favor if you would see Mr. Palmer and tell him the cause of my delay. For I have received two different messages from him and one from Mr. McLean [2]

importing, that I am to expect no further forbearance. I beg pardon for giving you this trouble and am

Dear Sir

your much obliged humble servt.

Tᵒ S*mollett*

CHELSEA, *Janʸ 6. 1750*

I have a negotiation on foot for borrowing a Sum of money, in conjunction with another Gentle man, I do not believe it will succeed, but if any person comes to inquire my character of you, you will not be surprised.

Letter 7

TO MR. STRAHAN [1]

Dear Sir

I have to day writt a Letter to Mr Millar [2] on the Subject you know. it is not couched in a begging stile which I shall never use. I, nevertheless, am afraid he will decline my Proposal; & therefore, I hope you will second it, in case he should ask your advice, which in all probability, he will. I am the more anxious on this Score, as a Refusal from him, will oblige me to take certain Measures [3] which perhaps, he may dislike in the Sequel: for, you know the money must be had, & that

Speedily; & I am not at all disposed to trouble Mr Tilfer,[4] whose friendship is too valuable to be risqued without an absolute necessity —

I am very truly
Dr. Sir
Your obliged humble servt.
To. Smollett

Jan[y]. *24 1750*

Letter 8

TO DR. JOHN MOORE (OF GLASGOW) [1]

(D[r] Sir

had it been in my power to serve your Cousin M[r] Fogo, I would have answered your obliging letter immediately upon the receipt of it: but conscious of my Incapacity in that particular, I used the privilege of my situation and refrained from writing untill I could snatch a vacant hour From the fatigue of my present employment.) I thank you for those curious criticisms on 'Roderick Random' which you have communicated; and congratulate you upon your prospect of enjoying a comfortable settlement among your friends. I have been favoured with two letters from Mr. Hunter of Burnsyde,[2] the first of which was shown to the Duke of Dorset [3] by Lady Vane,[4] who spoke of the author as a gentleman worthy of the Government's clemency

and protection, and represented his case and character in such an advantageous light, that the Duke expressed an inclination to befriend him, and advised Lord Vane [4] to speak to his cousin, the Duke of Newcastle,[5] in his behalf — this task his Lordship has undertaken, and there the matter must rest till the King's return. Make my compliments acceptable to your mother, and take it for granted that I am your sincere friend and humble servant,

T^s^ Smollett

Chelsea, *Sept^r^. 28^th^ 1750*

Letter 9

TO MR. RICH^D^ OSWALD, MERCH^T^ [1]

Sir,

Upon the Supposition that you wish me well, I take the Liberty to explain my present Situation, & make a proposal which I hope you will see no Cause to reject — you will easily believe that the Expense of housekeeping added to my former occasions & incumbrances, must have thrown me considerably back, in a course of four or five years during which I touched not one farthing from Mr^s^ Leaver.[2] accordingly my Debts in London amounted to about £300. when her last Remittance arrived — out of the money she drew from your hands, she, without being asked, presented me with

two hundred pounds, a sum which was barely sufficient to quiet the most clamorous of my Creditors; & the Rest I put off, untill she should recieve the next Remittance of £200, which you know Mr Bontein[3] promised to Send in Six weeks from the Date of his last Letters — we have waited for this Supply, several months beyond the time he fixed; & now that my necessities recur, I am deterred from applying to Mrs Leaver for these Reasons — she is naturally; obstinate, narrow minded, & totally ignorant of Life, & after having so lately given me two hundred pounds which she looks upon as an infinite Sum she would be alarmed & frightened almost out of her Senses, at a fresh Demand, & conclude that I am either a Spendthrift or in Debt: for which Reason, she might in the Disposal of her Effects, take measures to cut off all my Expectations; her fears & Suspicions would be communicated to her Daughter; a Breach between the mother & me would probably ensue, & the Peace of my family be utterly destroyed: whereas, by leaving everything to her own generosity, I may be enabled gradually to extricate myself from my Difficulties, provided her Agent shall discharge his Trust like a man of Honour: for, by his own Reckoning, he ought by this time, to have a thousand pounds of her money, in his hands — what I therefore propose; & would recieve as an indelible obligation, is, that you would oblige me with one hundred pounds of her money which is in your hands, in order to satisfy Demands which are at present, extremely pressing; & take my note payable upon Demand for that Sum, or if

you desire it, Mr. Maccullo[3] (?) will join in the Security — upon my honour! I should never dream of asking this Favour, were I not certain of your being indemnified at all Events. in all Likelihood, you will never be without Some of (of) Mrs. Leaver's Cash in your hands; as she has no earthly occasion for money, except to defray the Expense of boarding her Grandchild,[4] which does not amount to Thirty pounds a year: & she told me that as her money was much safer in your hands than at home, she had no thoughts of removing it. but, should she ever be disposed to draw for the whole, if I cannot easily refund it on Such an Occasion, I will at least, take the whole of it upon myself, & plead Necessity in my own Excuse — if I were connected with a Sensible woman, who would cordially interest herself in my affairs: & behave with that openness & Candour which I deserve at her hands, I should not be driven to the necessity of these dissagreable Expedients: but, I have too much Reason to say she is reserved, distrustfull, & as timorously cautious, as if she believed herself invironed with Thieves & Ruffians — whatever Reasons you may have to decline my Request, I beg you will not expose to any unconcerned Person, the nakedness of my Situation as I have here displayed it; because what I have said, is in full Confidence of your honour & Discretion —

I am

Sir your very humble Servt.

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *Feb.y 11th. 1752*

Letter 10

TO D. MACKERCHER, ESQ.[1]

Dear Sir,

I shall take it as a particular favour if you will peruse the inclosed rough draught of a letter which I intend to send to Mr. Hume Campbell,[2] provided you think it contains nothing actionable. I hope you will excuse this trouble, and believe me to be with equal sincerity and attachment,

Dear Sir,

your very humble servant,

T^s^ SMOLLETT

CHELSEA
Feb^y^ 23^rd^ 1753

(The postscript to this note was added to the letter to Hume Campbell mentioned above — Letter 11 — but is here given in its natural place.)

I am much mortified that my rascally situation will not at present permit me to send more than the trifle inclosed,[3] as nothing could give me more pleasure than an opportunity of showing with how much friendship and esteem I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

T^s^ SMOLLETT

Monday morning

Letter 11

TO ALEXANDER HUME CAMPBELL [1]

Sir

I have waited several days in the hope of receiving from you an acknowledgement touching those harsh, unjustifiable (and, let me add,) unmannerly expressions which you annexed to my name, in the Court of King's Bench, when you opened the cause depending between me and Peter Gordon; [2] and as I do not find that you have discovered the least inclination to retract what you said to my prejudice, I have taken this method to refresh your memory, and to demand such satisfaction as a gentleman, injured as I am, has a right to claim.

The business of a counsellor is, I apprehend, to investigate the truth in behalf of his client; but surely he has no privilege to blacken and asperse the character of the other party, without any regard to veracity or decorum. That you assumed this unwarrantable privilege in commenting upon your brief, I believe you will not pretend to deny, when I remind you of those peculiar flowers of elocution which you poured forth on that notable occasion. — First of all, in order to inspire the court with horror and contempt for the defendant, you gave the jury to understand, that you did not know this Dr. Smollett; and, indeed, his character appeared in such a light, from the facts contained in your brief, that

you never should desire to know him. — I should be glad to learn of what consequence it could be to the cause whether you did or did not know the defendant, or whether you had or had not, an inclination to be acquainted with him? Sir, this was a pitiful personality, calculated to depreciate the character of a gentleman to whom you was a stranger, merely to gratify the rancour and malice of an abandoned fellow who had feed you to speak in his cause. — Did I ever seek your acquaintance, or court your protection? I had been informed, indeed, that you was a lawyer of some reputation, and, when the suit commenced, would have retained you for that reason, had I not been anticipated by the plaintiff; but, far from coveting your acquaintance, I never dreamed of changing a word with you on that or any other subject: you might therefore have spared your invidious declaration, until I had put it in your power to mortify me with a repulse, which, upon my honour, would never have been the case, were you a much greater man than you really are. — Yet this was not the only expedient you used to prepossess the jury against me. — You was hardy enough to represent me as a person devoid of all humanity and remorse; as a barbarous ruffian, who, in a cowardly manner, had, with two associates as barbarous as myself, called a peaceable gentleman out of his lodgings, and assaulted him in the dark, with intent to murder. — Such an horrid imputation publicly fixed upon a person whose innocence you could hardly miss to know, is an outrage, for which, I believe, I might find reparation

from the law itself, notwithstanding your artful manner of qualifying the expression by saying, *provided the facts can be proved*. This low subterfuge may, for aught I know, screen you from a prosecution at law, but can never acquit you in that court which every man of honour holds in his own breast. I say, you must have known my innocence from the weakness of the evidence which you produced, and with which you either was, or ought to have been previously acquainted, as well as from my general character and that of my antagonist, which it was your duty to have learned. — I will venture to say, you did know my character, and in your heart believed me incapable of such brutality as you laid to my charge. Surely I do not over-rate my own importance in affirming, that I am not so obscure in life as to have escaped the notice of Mr. Hume-Campbell; and I will be bold enough now to challenge him and the whole world to prove one instance in which my integrity was called, or at least left in question. — Have I not, therefore, reason to suppose that, in spite of your own internal conviction, you undertook the cause of a wretch, whose ingratitude, villany, and rancour, are, I firmly believe, without example in this kingdom; that you magnified a slight correction bestowed by his benefactor, in consequence of the most insolent provocation, into a deliberate and malicious scheme of assassination, and endeavoured, with all the virulence of defamation, to destroy the character and even the life, of an injured person, who, as well as yourself, is a gentleman by birth, education, and pro-

fession? In favour of whom, and in consequence of what, was all this zeal manifested, all this slander exhausted, and all this scurrility discharged? Your client, whom you dignified with the title of esquire, and endeavoured to raise to the same footing with me in point of station and character, you knew to be an abject miscreant, whom my compassion and humanity had lifted from the most deplorable scenes of distress; whom I had saved from imprisonment and ruin; whom I had clothed and fed for a series of years; whom I had occasionally assisted with my purse, credit, and influence. — You knew, or ought to have known, that, after having received a thousand marks of my benevolence, and prevailed upon me to indorse notes for the support of his credit, he withdrew himself into the verge of the Court, and took up his habitation in a paltry alehouse, where he not only set me and the rest of his creditors at defiance, but provoked me, by scurrilous and indecent letters and messages, to chastise him in such a manner as gave him a handle for this prosecution, in which you signalized yourself as his champion for a very honourable consideration. — There is something so palpably ungrateful, perfidious, and indeed diabolical, in the conduct of the prosecutor, that, even in these degenerate days, I wonder how he could find an Attorney to appear in his behalf. *O tempora! O mores!* — After having thus sounded the trumpet of obloquy in your preamble, and tortured every circumstance of the plaintiff's evidence to my detriment and dishonour, you attempted to subject me to the ridicule of the Court, by

asking a question of my first witness,[3] which had no more relation to the cause, than if you had desired to know the name of his grandmother. — What title had you to ask of a tradesman, if he knew me to be an author? What affinity had this question with the circumstances of the assault? Was not this foreign to the purpose? Was it not impertinent, and proposed with a view to put me out of countenance, and to raise the laugh of the spectators at my expense? There, indeed, you was disappointed, as you frequently are in those little digressive efforts by which you make yourself remarkable. — Though I do not pretend to possess that superlative degree of effrontery by which some people make a figure at the bar, I have assurance enough to stand the mention of my works without blushing, especially when I despise the taste, and scorn the principles of him who would turn them to my disgrace. You succeeded, however, in one particular; I mean, in raising the indignation of my witness; of which you took all imaginable advantage, puzzling, perplexing, and browbeating him with such artifice, eagerness, and insult, as overwhelmed him with confusion, and had well nigh deprived me of the benefit of his evidence. — Luckily for me, the next gentleman who was called confirmed what the other had swore, and proved to the satisfaction of the judge and jury, and even to your own conviction, that this terrible deliberate assassination was no more than a simple blow given to a rascal after repeated provocation, and that of the most flagrant kind; that no advantage was taken in point of weapons; and

that two drabs, whom they had picked up for the purpose, had affirmed upon oath a downright falsehood, with a view to blast my reputation. — You yourself was so conscious of this palpable detection, that you endeavoured to excuse them by a forced explanation, which, you may depend upon it, shall not screen them from a prosecution for perjury.[4] — I will not say, that this was like patronizing a couple of gypsies who had forsworn themselves, consequently forfeited all title to the countenance, or indeed forbearance of the Court; but this I will say, that your tenderness for them, was of a piece with your behaviour to me, which I think was equally insolent and unjust; for, granting that you had really supposed me guilty of an intended assassination, before the trial began, you saw me in the course of evidence acquitted of that suspicion, and heard the judge insist upon my innocence in his charge to the jury, who brought in their verdict accordingly. — Then, Sir, you ought in common justice to have owned yourself mistaken, or to have taken some other opportunity of expressing your concern for what you had said to my disadvantage; though even such an acknowledgement would not have been a sufficient reparation; because, before my witnesses were called, many persons left the Court with impressions to my prejudice, conceived from the calumnies which they heard you espouse and encourage. On the whole, you opened the trial with such hyperbolical impetuosity, and conducted it with such particular bitterness and rancour, that everybody perceived you was more than ordinarily interested;

and I could not divine the mysterious bond of union that attached you to Peter Gordon, Esq. until you furnished me with the key to the whole secret, by that strong emphasis with which you pronounced the words, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*. Then I discovered the source of your good-will towards me, which is no other than the history of a lawsuit inserted in that performance, where the author takes occasion to observe, that the counsel behaved like men of consummate abilities in their profession; exerting themselves with equal industry, eloquence, and erudition, in their endeavours to perplex the truth, brow-beat the evidence, puzzle the judge, and mislead the jury.[5] — Did any part of this character come home to your conscience? or did you resent it as a sarcasm levelled at the whole bench without distinction? I take it for granted, this must have been the origin of your enmity to me; because I can recollect no other circumstance in my conduct, by which I could incur the displeasure of a man whom I scarce knew by sight, and with whom I never had the least dispute, or indeed concern. If this was the case, you pay a very scurvy compliment to your own integrity, by fathering a character which is not applicable to any honest man, and give the world a handle to believe, that our courts of justice stand greatly in need of reformation. Indeed, the petulance, licence, and buffoonery of some lawyers in the exercise of their function, is a reproach upon decency, and a scandal to the nation; and it is surprising that the Judge, who represents his Majesty's person, should suffer such insults upon the dignity of the

place. — But, whatever liberties of this kind are granted to the counsel, no sort of freedom, it seems, must be allowed to the evidence, who, by the way, are of much more consequence to the cause. — You will take upon you to divert the audience at the expense of a witness, by impertinent allusions to some parts of his private character and affairs; but if he pretends to retort the joke, you insult, abuse, and bellow against him as an impudent fellow who fails in his respect to the court. — It was in this manner you behaved to my first witness, whom you first provoked into a passion by your injurious insinuations; then you took an advantage of the confusion which you had entailed upon him; and lastly, you insulted him as a person who had shuffled in his evidence. This might have been an irreparable injury to the character of a tradesman, had not he been luckily known to the whole jury, and many other persons in Court, as a man of unquestioned probity and credit. Sir, a witness has as good a title as you have to the protection of the Court; and ought to have more, because evidence is absolutely necessary for the investigation of truth; whereas, the aim of a lawyer is often to involve it in doubt and obscurity. Is it for this purpose you so frequently deviate from the point, and endeavour to raise the mirth of the audience with flat jokes and insipid similes? or, have you really so mistaken your own talents, as to set up for the character of a man of humour? — For my own part, were I disposed to be merry, I should never desire a more pregnant subject of ridicule, than your appearance and be-

haviour; but, as I am at present in a very serious mood, I shall content myself with demanding adequate reparation for the injurious treatment I have received at your hands; otherwise I will in four days put this letter in the press,[6] and you shall hear in another manner — not from a ruffian and an assassin — but from an injured gentleman who is not ashamed of subscribing himself,

&c

CHELSEA *Feb. 23, 1753*

Letter 12

(MEMORANDUM)

May 5th 1753

It is this day agreed between Dr Smollet of the one part and Robert Dodsley,[1] James Rivington [2] and William Strahan [3] on the other part as follows, viz.

The said Dr Smollet engages to complete with all convenient speed so as the whole be finished on or before the first day of August 1754 *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels* [4] from the best books on these subjects extant, to be finished in seven volumes in duodecimo, in the same manner as a book called *A Tour through Great Britain* and to contain in the whole one hundred sheets or thereabouts: In consideration of

which the said Robert Dodsley, James Rivington and William Strahan agree to pay the said Dr Smollet at the rate of one guinea and a half per sheet to be paid on the Delivery of the copy of each volume.[5]

Witness our hands.

T^{s} Smollett
R. Dodsley
Jam. Rivington
Will: Strahan

Letter 13

(TO DR. MACAULAY)[1]

Dear Sir

I yesterday met with Provost Drummond,[2] and took my leave of him, after we had settled the manner of executing his brother's work.[3] At parting he told me that he left the whole to my management, and that he would entirely acquiesce in whatever I should claim, by way of acknowledgement for my trouble. About a fortnight ago he gave me leave to draw upon him for 50 gns., at one month after date, and as I had occasion for the money, I gave a discount for the note, at the rate of 60 per cent. Such an unconscionable premium, you may be assured, I should not have given, unless upon an emergency, which would admit of no delay: the term was begun, and I was obliged to pay the costs and dam-

ages of that scoundrel Groom,[4] according to the compromise made in court. The other 50 guineas, I expect, will be earned in less than a month; and though Mr. Drummond desired me to write to him from time to time, I would not appear so meanly impatient as to demand this second moiety, until he himself shall think proper to mention it. Nevertheless, I am so straitened in consequence of that bankruptcy, by which I lost 180 l.[5] the lawsuit with Gordon and his accomplices, the want of punctuality in our Jamaica agent,[6] and the time I have lost during these six months past, that I must be fain to raise this second payment per advance, if I can find any friend who will do me the favour. To you I should have applied myself, without scruple or remorse, had it not been for that 15 l. which has lain over so long; though my delay, in that particular, was as much owing to my confidence in your friendship, as to the disappointments I have sustained: and I must still beg your patience until the arrival of the Kingston ship, which is daily expected, and in which Mr. Bontein has solemnly promised to remit what is due us from Jamaica; he is now accountable for above 1000 l. With regard to the 50 guineas, which I very much want, I would much rather owe the favour to you than to any other person; and I would take it upon that footing, which would, in some measure, alleviate the mortification I have in putting you to such trouble; that is, I should be glad, and, indeed, insist upon paying interest for the money, as well as for that which I already owe — yet I am afraid it may not suit your

convenience to comply with my request, as I know you have already launched out considerable sums of ready money for the relief of your neighbours in distress.

Dear Doctor, this sort of communication is a troublesome tax, imposed upon those who maintain connexions with the needy; and, by Heaven! I despise myself for being obliged to run such risques of cooling that friendship which hath already so warmly interested itself in behalf of,

dear Sir,

your much obliged & affectionate

humble servant

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *May 27, 1753*

Letter 14

(RECEIPT FOR COPYRIGHT: TO DAVID WILSON)

London *Novr. 28th 1753*

Recieved of Mr David Wilson [1] by Mr Thomas Durham [2] The Sum of Fifty Guineas by the hand of Mr William Strahan [3] in full consideration for one half of the Copy Right of Dr Smellie's [4] Second Volume of Midwifery for which I promise to give him an Assignment upon Demand

Ts Smollett

£ 52. 10. 0

Letter 15

TO A. TELFER, ESQ. OF SYMINGTON [1]

Dear Sir

I have felt incredible vexation and Disturbance of mind about that last money I drew for, because the sum arising from the sale of the lands in the (*blank in* MS.) [2] upon which I had the security is still detained by some formality of the Law: however as I have been very importunate with the Person, in whose favour I drew, he has yesterday given me as a collateral security, a Draught upon a Banker in London from a Gentleman of Sussex for 130 *l.* of the money, which draught will be payed from the first of the Sale of certain Lands, which the Chancellor has permitted him to alienate for his sisters' portions: tho' the Payment has been so long delayed — for this Reason I have enabled myself to take up your Draught upon me, by drawing again at two months; & when you shall redraw upon me at the same date, your Bill shall be punctually honoured: by these means I gain four months more, & the Person whose security I have, defrays the expense of the exchange. . . .[3]

I ought to make a thousand apologies for the repeated Freedoms I have taken with your good nature and Friendship, but upon my Soul! I want words to express my sense of Gratitude and Shame; so that you

must put the most favourable interpretation on my silence, & allow me to be with unutterable affection & esteem

dear Sir
your most obliged Brother &
Servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *Dec 13 1753*

Letter 16

(to dr. john moore)

Mr Urie [1] is misinformed about my intention to publish anything upon commerce, which is a subject foreign to my taste and understanding. I suppose the mistake arose from my having translated a collection of essays from a periodical work published in French, under the title of 'Journal Economique,' [2] in which there are some papers upon trade, — but this is no other than a paltry bookseller's job, in which my name ought not to be mentioned. I have nothing ready for the press but Doctor Smellie's second volume, containing cases in midwifery,[3] and my translation of 'Don Quixote,' [4] which will be published next year.

I have likewise made some progress in the 'History of the German Empire,' [5] which I believe will be

printed this ensuing summer; and 'Drummond's Letters'[6] are now ready to appear.

In short, dear John, I am so jaded that I now write with infinite reluctance, so that you must excuse my inaccuracy, and all other defects in —

your affectionate humble servt,

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *March 1 1754*

(P. S.

present my best wishes to your mother & sisters & let me be kindly remembered by Doctors Deck[7] (?), & Hamilton[8] your Partner[9] Urie, Barclay,[10] Blackburn,[11] and all friends at Glasgow)

Letter 17

(TO DR. ALEXANDER CARLYLE)

. . . (England), a land where felicity is held to consist in stupefying port and overgrown buttocks of beef, where genius is lost and taste extinguished.[1]

March 1, 1754

Letter 18

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

John

The Bearer is my worthy friend Mr Smith [1] Tutor to Lord Garlies: [2] I cannot make you a more valuable present than that of his acquaintance; cherish it, therefore, and introduce him to Barclay,[3] Blackburn,[4] & all the honest fellows of your Town, he will improve upon you every day, and you will have reason to thank me for the opportunity of knowing him — I understand there are certain Prigs [5] of Glasgow, who have endeavoured to do him ill offices by clandestine & malicious insinuations. The miscreants, whosoever they may be are disappointed, & God Grant they may never have better Success, in any of their endeavours, for they must be sordid Knaves, who could attempt to prejudice such an unblemished Character. Say not a word of this to Smith, whose delicacy might be hurt in the explanation; & let it not be mentioned to any other person untill matters be more ripe for a Discovery. I offer my Respects to your Mother and sisters and am

Dear John, yours most faithfully

Ts Smollett

Chelsea, *April 16th 1754*

Letter 19

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

Dear Doctor,

As I have not received an answer to my letter from Scotland; as soon as it arrives I shall communicate the purport of it to you. I am extremely chagrined to find you in such an hampered situation, and my mortification is redoubled, when I reflect upon my being in some measure the cause.[1] I hoped that cursed ship from the East Indies [2] would have arrived before this time, and brought some good news; but everything has of late thwarted my schemes and expectations, and therefore I cannot help dreading a repulse from Scotland also.[3] Had I credit enough to borrow the money in London, you should not be without it a day longer, even though I should pay 50 per cent for the loan; but, believe me, I should find it difficult to raise half the sum in England, even to save me from a jail. Never was I so much harassed with duns as now; a persecution which I owe to the detention of that remittance from Jamaica, which I have expected every day since last Christmas, upon the faith of promises sent from time to time. I am, with great sincerity, gratitude, and affection,

dear Sir,

yours &c.

CHELSEA *Nov. 16, 1754*

Letter 20

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

Dear Sir,

Upon my honour, I have not had the least answer to the letter I wrote to Scotland, nor has one farthing arrived from Jamaica;[1] circumstances which fill me with astonishment and mortification; And what increases my wonder is, to hear that Mr. Telfer is, or was lately, at Edinburgh.[2] I would still hope that a favourable answer might be received from that country; otherwise, methinks they would have signified their refusal, as I pressed the thing in such strong terms. For my own part, I never was reduced to such a dilemma as I am now brought into; for I have promised to pay away tradesmens' bills, to a considerable amount, by Christmas; and my credit absolutely depends upon my punctuality. Nay, I am put to very great straits for present subsistence, as I have done nothing all the last summer but worked upon Don Quixotte, for which I was paid five years ago.[3] If my joint security could be of any service in raising a sum of money, untill matters shall clear up, I would chearfully pay the premium for insuring my life; and as my friends are good, I think it would not be a bad expedient.[4] In short, I am so distracted with my difficulties, that I cannot form any other feasible scheme for the present emergency, and I

wish you would consider how it might be altered or improved. I am, with great affection, gratitude, and regard,

yours &c.

Tˢ Smollett

Chelsea *Dec 11 1754*

I was last night robbed of my watch and money in the stage-coach between this and London, and am just going to town to inquire about the robber.[5]

Letter 21

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir,

I never repined so much at my own want of Importance as at this Conjuncture,[1] when you have occasion for the Interest of your Friends; & it is with great mortification I now assure you that I have no sort of Connexion with the Great man[2] who is to decide between you and your Competitor. Far from being used to the Great, as you seem to imagine, I have neither interest nor acquaintance with any person whose Countenance or Favour could be of advantage to myself or my friends. I live in the shade of obscurity, neglecting & neglected, and spend my vacant hours, among a set of honest phlegmatic Englishmen,[3] whom I cultivate

for their Integrity of heart and simplicity of manners. I have not spoke to a nobleman for some years; & those I once had the Honour of knowing were either such as had little interest of their own, or very little Consideration for me.

I am heartily sorry to find your cause is so slenderly supported with the Duke of Argyle,[2] because without his concurrence, or rather his creative word, I believe no Professorship can be filled up — merit is altogether out of the question — everything here, as well as in your country, is carried by Cabal; & in Scotland the Cabal of the Campbells will always preponderate — the time is fast approaching when all the Lands, all the Places of Honour, Power and Profit, will be in the Possession of that worthy clan — then you may exclaim,— *Non numinis sed Campbellorum omnia plena.*[4]

Present my best wishes to Mr^s^ Moore & all your family; & be assured (if such a Declaration can be of any Consequence to a man whom I cannot serve in anything essential) that I am, with equal Truth and affection

Dear Sir,

Your very humble serv^t^

T^s^ Smollett

Chelsea *Dec. 11 1755*

Letter 22

TO JAMES SMOLLETT, ESQ., OF BONHILL [1]

CHELSEA, *March 9th 1756*

Dear Sir

Your very kind Letter afforded me real Pleasure, — because it breathes genuine Friendship and Sincerity Such Language of the Heart I prefer to all the Frippery of Eloquence; to all the Bribes of Ostentation — the Circumstance of our Cousin Theophilus [2] is to me amazing; & resembles the Suggestion of a Dream. I feel a strange curiosity to see the man — what says Mrs. Bethune [3] & the females of our Family? — considering the low Ebb to which we are reduced, this is a sort of acquisition to the name — I begin to think we were originally Malet or Molet & came from Normandy with the Conqueror — he had followers of both names, & they settled in the north — William Malet was governour of York [4] & a very gallant officer the S. may have shifted its place from the End of the Prenomen to the Beginning of the Surname [5] — there is a norman who keeps a public house in the skirts of Chelsea, of the name of Jonas Mollet — I have by me an old Diploma Signed at Caen about an hundred years ago, Smalet antiquior Scholae medicinalis magister — I should be very glad to know if you have any anecdotes of our little family — I have been told they were

freeholders in Dumbarton four hundred years ago [6] — by the bye, I find Dumbarton was once the capital of the Kingdom of Arecluyd inhabited by Britons or Cumbrians, whence it [sic] name of Dun-britton; that this Kingdom extended westerly to the Extremity of Cunningham's or the Cumerei Islands in the mouth of the Clyde; that it was bounded by the Forth on one Side and the irish Channel on the other — the greatest part of Dumbarton has been destroyed by an Inundation — I myself when a Boy have felt the Stones of the Pavement under water between what is called the College and the Town's End. I think I remember to have seen the Ruins of old Stone Houses on the other side of the Sands; and on your Ground at the Stony flat there are many remains of Druid Worshipping Places [7] — I am persuaded that an antiquarian would find much entertainment about Dumbarton, & Even some noble monuments of roman antiquity; for, there was a stationary Camp within three miles of the Place, at Kilpatrick, for the Guard of the Wall built by Lollius Urbieus in the Reign of Antoninus, commonly called Graeme's Dyke; which Buchanan [8] ignorantly confounds with the wall built by Severus from the Esk to the Tyne in the north of England; and as the Britons of Arecluyd were under the roman Protection they must have entertained an intimate Intercourse, & without doubt the Roman Generals & officers of Rank lived at Dumbritton. You will think this is a strange Rhapsody; but to me the Subject is interesting. I have had occasion lately to inquire into the antiquities of our Country [9]

— I find the Scots came from Ireland but yesterday, in comparison with the antiquity of the Caledonians & Britons of Arecluyd — I would fain derive myself from these last; but whether antient Scot, Briton or Norman, I certainly am with equal affection & Esteem, Dr Sir

your very humble Servt

Ts Smollett

My wife presents her best wishes for Mrs Smollett & you, I hope mine will also be acceptable

Letter 23

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

Dear Doctor,

I have been last week threatened with writs of arrest; and some tradesmen in Chelsea have been so clamorous, that I actually promised to pay them in the beginning of this week.[1] I had recourse to Mr. Rivington,[2] who happens to be out of cash, in consequence of breaking up partnership with his brother. My proposal was, that he should advance 100 *l.* which I would pay at the rate of four guineas per week, deducted from the History;[3] and at that rate I should have liquidated the debt in about three-and-twenty weeks. He had no sort

of objection to the scheme; and agrees to join with me in security for the money, if it can be borrowed for six months or longer. As he is a sufficient man, and this disgrace hovers over my imagination so as that I shall be rendered incapable of prosecuting my scheme, I have recourse to your advice and assistance. If you can command the sum, the deduction of four guineas per week shall be made into your own hands; and even after the payment of that sum, I shall go on towards a general clearance, until I am enabled to discuss the rest of my debt to you, by remittances from the East or West Indies.[4] This proposed scheme of liquidation, added to the unquestionable security of Mr. Rivington, and the consideration of my condition, will, I doubt not, prevail upon you to exert yourself in behalf of, dear Sir,

yours &c.

CHELSEA, *April 6, 1756*

Letter 24

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

(Dear Sir,

I am sorry to find that the young Gentleman you recommended to my acquaintance, had the Trouble of calling at my house, without seeing me. I was so liable to Intrusion from the situation of my house & the num-

ber of my friends that I found it absolutely necessary to give my servant a general order to deny me to all those with whom I had no express Business; but if Mr. Dougal[1] had left his name or mentioned your's I should have had the pleasure of seeing him: you may assure yourself that every Person whom you introduce shall always be welcome to my best offices, which God knows are very inconsiderable.) By your asking if I am engaged in any new Performance, and immediately after mentioning the 'Critical Review,' I conclude you have been told I am concerned in that work: your information has been true; it is a small branch of an extensive Plan which I last year projected for a sort of academy of the belles lettres;[2] a Scheme which will one day, I hope be put in Execution to its utmost extent. In the meantime the 'Critical Review' is conducted by four gentlemen of approved abilities,[3] and meets with a very favourable reception.[4]

Tho' I never dabble in Politics, I cannot help saying that there seems to have been no Treachery in delivering up St Phillip's[5] fort, nor even in the scandalous affair with the French fleet, which was owing to the personal timidity of our admiral,[6] who is at present the object of the public Detestation: indeed the people seem to be in a ferment, and there are not wanting rascally Incendiaries to inflame their discontent; so that in a populace less phlegmatic the consequences would, in all probability, be very mischievous. (Make my kind Compliments to Dr. Stevenson,[7] Messrs. Barclay,[8]

Blackburn,[9] Fogo,[10] and all my Glasgow friends, and allow me to be unalterably)

Dr John, your very affectionate humble servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *Augt 3rd 1756*

Letter 25

(to samuel richardson) [1]

Sir

I was extremely concerned to find myself suspected of a Silly, mean Insinuation against Mr. Richardson's Writings, which appeared some time ago in the Critical Review:[2] and I desired my friend Mr. Millar to assure you in my name that it was inserted without my privity or Concurrence. Tho' you received his Explanation with your usual Candour, I think it my Duty to corroborate what he has said in my Vindication, by protesting in the most Solemn manner, that I never once mentioned Mr. Richardson's name with disrespect, nor ever reflected upon him or his writing by the most distant hint or allusion; & that it is impossible I should ever mention either as a writer or a man, without Expressions of admiration and applause. I am not much addicted to Compliment; but, I think Such an Acknowledgement is no more than a piece of Justice due to that amiable Benevolence, Sublime morality & surprizing

Intimacy with the human Heart, which must ever be the objects of Veneration among People of good Sense and Integrity. I am very much obliged to you for your judicious Remarks on the Plan of my History;[3] & shall be proud of your advice on any future occasion: in the meantime I beg leave to profess myself with the most perfect Esteem Sir

Your very humble Servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea, *Augt 10. 1756*

Letter 26

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

Chelsea, *September 10, 1756*

Dear Doctor,

The fund which I appropriated for the payment of that note,[1] I have been obliged to pay on another score. I would willingly have concealed the affair from your knowledge, but it must now come out in my own justification. About two years ago, Captain Crawfurd [2] had a law-suit with his servant about wages, &c. He was bailed by Dr. Macculloch [3] and me. He left the suit to the care of Adam Gordon,[4] and went to Scotland. Gordon neglected the suit, and judgment being given against the defendant, we, his bail, were obliged to pay

damages, costs, &c. to the amount of 95 *l.* I drew upon Crawfurd for the money: aftre [sic] some shuffling, he agreed to accept of a bill, payable in eight months. The bill was sent down for him for his acceptance; he never answered the letter. We have instituted a process against him; and were forced to pay the bill, with costs, on its being returned protested. This is the truth, and nothing but the truth. So help me God! The money will be recovered, as he is a man of fortune. In the meantime, I will endeavour to borrow as much as will take up Hamilton's [5] note. If I cannot, and they should prove troublesome, I must remove to some corner where I may work without being distracted and distressed; for here I can do nothing. I have done very little for these two months past; and am engaged to finish the History by Christmas; so that you may guess my situation. When I sat down to this work I was harassed by duns; I have paid above one hundred pounds of debts, which I could no longer put off, and maintained my family. I have since paid £120 to different tradesmen, from a small remittance which we lately received. I could not have disposed of that money otherwise, without being disgraced. We have granted ample powers to Tom Bontein [6] to sell our Negroes in the West Indies. He has promised, upon honour, to remit what is already due (amounting to above £1000 sterling) with the first opportunity. We expect daily remittances from the Harvies; [7] and I am determined to make no use of what comes, except for the payment of

debts, until the whole are liquidated. You have interposed so often with Mr. Maclean,[8] that I am ashamed to mention any expedient of that sort. I have some irons in the fire, for borrowing a little money to satisfy those gentlemen. I have desired my agent to offer any premium rather than be disappointed; and I will let you know the result of his endeavours. I am, as ever, dear Doctor, your most affectionate and much obliged humble servant, &c.

Letter 27

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

CHELSEA, *November 24, 1756.*

Dear Doctor,

I think I may now with confidence beg your interposition with Mr. Maclean [1] about Hamilton's [2] note, as the farce,[3] which is coming on immediately, will undoubtedly enable me to discharge that obligation. I just now received an intimation from him, requiring immediate payment, which is as much out of my power as the imperial crown of England. I need say no more, than that I am, dear Sir, yours entirely, &c.

Letter 28

(TO DAVID GARRICK)[1]

Sir,

Understanding from Mr. Derrick[2] that some officious people[3] have circulated reports in my name with a view to prejudice me in your opinion, I, in justice to myself, take the liberty to assure you, that if any person accuses me of having spoken disrespectfully of Mr. Garrick, of having hinted that he solicited for my farce, or had interested views in bringing it forward, he does me wrong, upon the word of a gentleman. The imputation is altogether false and malicious. Exclusive of other considerations, I could not be such an idiot to talk in that strain, when my own interest required a different sort of conduct. Perhaps the same insidious methods have been taken to inflame former animosities, which, on my part, are forgotten and self-condemned. I must own you have acted in this affair of the farce, with that candour, openness, and cordiality, which even mortify my pride, while they lay me under the most sensible obligations;[4] and I shall not rest satisfied until I have an opportunity to convince Mr. Garrick that my gratitude is as warm as any other of my passions.

Letter 29

TO MR. JAS RIVINGTON,[1] BOOKSELLER,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

Dear Sir

My neighbour John Lewis [2] Bookbinder, alias Strap, wants ten copies of the History, which are bespoke by his Customers — the money will be returned as soon as he can deliver the Books: but he will expect to have them at Bookseller's Price — you will let him have them accordingly and oblige

D^r^ Sir

yours sincerely

T^s^ SMOLLETT

CHELSEA *April 14 1757*

Letter 30

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir

You will forgive me for not having answered your Letter sooner, in consideration of the Hurry and Fatigue to which I have been exposed in bringing out my History of England.[1] I sincerely rejoice in your success

in Business, as well as in the Happiness you seem to enjoy amidst the comforts of matrimony, and I beg leave to make a tender of my best wishes to Mrs. Moore [2] as the source of my friend's Happiness. The little Irishman,[3] about whom you express some curiosity, was my Amanuensis, and has been occasionally employed as a Trash reader for the Critical Review, but you are not to number him among my Companions nor indeed does his Character deserve any further Discussion. The Bearer, Captain Robert Man,[4] is my neighbour in Chelsea, and I recommend him to your friendship and acquaintance as a brave, experienced officer, and an honest Tar in whom there is no guile. He is appointed Captain of the Porcupine sloop, stationed in the Frith of Clyde and being an utter stranger to that part of the world, you must introduce him to your and my friends at Glasgow, and assist him with your advice and Directions. His father was a Scotsman, & I believe a native of your Town. My friend Bob has been around the Globe with Anson & proved in fourteen or fifteen sea engagements, during which he behaved with remarkable Gallantry; but his good nature is equal to his Courage, and indeed he is the most inoffensive man alive. If you want to know how I spend my Time in this retreat, he can satisfy you in that particular, for he has been my Club companion these seven long years. (pray give my Compliments to Captain Graham [5] and tell him I have never once seen Dr Brisbane [6] till I met him accidentally about a month ago at Mr Barclay's [7]

Lodgings. He seems to be in Good Health and Spirits, and that is all I know of the matter. excuse haste and believe me to be)

Dear John

your affectionate friend and Servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *May 12 1757*

Letter 31

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir,

I sympathize in your affliction,[1] which I hope has neither been so immoderate nor so unmanly as to hinder you from acting the part of a Comforter to the Companion of your sorrows. I am pleased with the kind expressions in which you mention my dedication to Mr. Pitt, who has treated me with that genuine politeness [2] by which he is as much distinguished in private Life as by his superior Talents in the service of his Country, I am afraid the 'History' will not answer the Expectations that seem to be raised by my friends in Scotland. The fourth volume is now in the press, and will (I believe) be published in three months, if no unforeseen accident should intervene. You are right in your Conjecture with regard to the criticism upon 'Douglas,' [3] which I assure you, I did not see until it was in print. I

did not write one article in that whole number. By this time you have (I suppose) received my letter by Capt. Mann,[4] so that you will excuse from writing at large on this occasion; especially as I am so fatigued with the unremitting labour of the pen that I begin to loathe the sight of paper. (I am truly sorry for the Death of poor Dick [1] for whom I had a sincere Regard & warm affection; present my Compliments & best wishes of Health & Happiness to Mrs Moore; let me be remembered to Dr Stevenson [5] & tell Mr Barclay [6] I was much mortified to find he had left London without having crossed my Threshold. I understand he spent a genial evening with some friends before he took his departure.

Though I am not a punctual Correspondent I shall be always glad to hear from you & it shall go hard but I will find means to acknowledge the receipt of your favours.) Meanwhile I profess myself your affectionate humble Servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *June 4th 1757*

Letter 32

TO MR. W. STRAHAN [1] NEW STREET

Dear Sir

As soon as I can spare a Day, I will let you know, & come to Town that you may not have the Trouble to

come to the Country. I have perused the m.s. from Dr. R—— [2] which is very Sensible & Correct; but, I cannot well prepare it for the Press without having the Synopsis & L——s's [3] Pamphlet, which I desire, may be Sent out, & I shall take care to return them in good Condition. I am obliged to you for your kind interposition with Dr. Nanre [4] (?). It is a very hard case that I should be troubled with Duns for very small Sums, when there are actually fifteen hundred pounds Sterling at the most moderate Computation due us at Jamaica. I will not forget D—— [5] & am always

Your obliged, humble servt. &
Sincere friend

T^{s} Smollett

Chelsea *Monday*
Oct^{r} 24

Letter 33

(probably to dr. macaulay)

Dear Sir,

After thanking you for all favours, I have only to add that I must infallibly find 50 *l.* in a few days in order to maintain myself in any sort of tranquillity. I do not see how I can hasten my agreement with Mr. Millar,[1] any other way than by dispatching the work in which I am

engaged,[2] and that will certainly be finished by the end of the month. I commit myself to your protection and am yours always

T^s^ Smollett

Chelsea *Nov^r^ 5. 1757*

Letter 34

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir,

I deferred answering your kind Letter, until I should have finished my History, which is now completed. I was agreeably surprised to hear that my work had met with any approbation at Glasgow, for it was not at all calculated for that meridian. The last volume will, I doubt not, be severely censured by the West country whigs of Scotland; (but for you and other persons of sense and probity) I desire you will divest yourself of Prejudice, at least so much as you can, before you begin to peruse it, and consider well the facts before you pass Judgement. Whatever may be its defects, I protest before God, I have, as far as in me lay adhered to Truth without espousing any faction, though I own I sat down to write with a warm side to those principles in which I was educated. But in the course of my Inquiries the whig ministers (and their abettors) turned

out such a set of sordid knaves, that I could not help stigmatizing (some of) them for their want of Integrity and Sentiment.[1]

I have for some time done very little in the Critical Review: the Remarks on Home's Tragedy[2] I never saw untill they were in print & as yet I have not read one line of the Epigoniad.[3] I am told the work has merit & am truly sorry that it should have been so roughly handled.

Notwithstanding the Censures that have been so freely bestowed upon these and other Productions of our Country, the authors of the Critical Review have been insulted & abused as a *Scotch Tribunal*.[4] The Truth is, there is no Author so wretched, but he will meet with countenance in England, if he attacks our nation in any shape. You cannot conceive the Jealousy that prevails against us. Nevertheless it is better to be envied than despised. I wish you and your family all Happiness, and am

D^r^ Sir

Your affectionate humble Serv^t^

T^s^ Smollett

Chelsea *Jan 2 1758*

Letter 35

(TO D. WILSON) [1]

Dear Sir

I have sent two copies of P. P. vol. 3. — Lady V——e's story, you may compose from that which is incompleat in the other Parts; and if you think proper, you may prefix the two Letters in manuscript [2] the remaining part of the 3rd volume you will find corrected in the other copy. The fourth shall be done as soon as possible. I will take care of Mr. Johnson's Papers [3] & link them up in a very little time, for their appearance. I wish you would send the proofsheets of Pickle to me to be corrected. as soon as I am at Leisure I intend to wait of you, to complain of our friend Mr. Millar [4] who, I understand, has done me ill offices about the History, & these in a very Dishonourable manner: but of this more at meeting. He is mistaken if he thinks my being in his Debt authorizes him to do me Injuries with impunity. I shall not fail to insist upon Mr. Derrick's [5] doing you Justice: and I am very truly

Dear Sir

Your much obliged humble servt.

Tˢ Smollett

Chelsea *Wednesday*
noon

Letter 36

(PERHAPS TO DR. ALEXANDER CARLYLE)

Dear Sir
I was in hopes of
hearing from you before
this time. My affairs
are very pressing. I
shall be glad to see
you at Forrest's [1] on
Friday evening at
six O'clock. I am
ever
Yours
T^s S^tt

CHELSEA *Wednesday*
Evening.

Letter 37

Of this letter I know only its date, which, as given in *Autograph Prices Current*, iv, 192, is of Chelsea, January 6, 1758. As it is the policy of many autograph deal-

ers not to reveal the names of their patrons, I have been unsuccessful in my endeavor to obtain the text of this letter. Its existence, at least, is hereby recorded.

Letter 38

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir,

I some time ago was favoured with yours, which I should have answered sooner had I not been extremely busied in correcting my History for a new Impression. That Task is now finished; and the Book, I hope, rendered less unworthy of the public acceptance. I am much obliged to you for the generous warmth with which you have so often interposed in behalf of my Reputation: of this and of every other Instance of Friendship which I have experienced at your hands I shall ever retain a cordial Remembrance. I am not so much surprised at my Book's meeting with Censurers and Enemies in Glasgow, as that it should find any number of Friends and favourers among People so deeply infected with Prejudice & Fanaticism. I speak not of the few who think like Philosophers, abstracted from the notions of the Vulgar. The little petulant Familiarities of our friend [1] I can forgive, in consideration of the good will he has always manifested towards me and my Concerns. He is mistaken however, in sup-

posing I have imbibed priestly notions. I consider the Church not as a religious, but as a political Establishment, so minutely interwoven in our Constitution, that the one cannot be detached from the other without the most imminent danger of Destruction to both.[2]

The use which your friend makes of the Critical Review is whimsical enough;[3] but I shall be glad if he uses it at any rate. I have not had leisure to do much in that work for some time past therefore I hope You will not ascribe the article's indiscriminately to me; for I am equally averse to the Praise and Censure that belong to other men, indeed, I am sick of both; & wish to God my Circumstances would allow me to consign my Pen to oblivion. I really believe on my conscience that mankind grows every day more & more malicious. (I have taken some pains to live like an honest inoffensive man: I will venture to say that nothing base or dishonourable can justly be charged upon my Character; yet, I am daily persecuted by the most malicious slanders;[4] merely because I have written with some Success.)

You will not be sorry to hear that the weekly sale of the History has increased to above Ten thousand.[5] A French Gentleman of Talent and Erudition has undertaken to translate it into that Language,[6] & I have promised to supply him with the Corrections. My best wishes (are in behalf of Mr^{s} Moore & I am

Dear John, yours affectionately)

T^{s} Smollett

Chelsea *Sept 28th* (*1758*)

Letter 39

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.[1]

Dear Sir,

I am again your Petitioner in behalf of that great Cham of Literature, Samuel Johnson.[2] His Black Servant, whose name is Francis Barber,[3] has been pressed on board the Stag Frigate, Capt. Angel,[4] and our Lexicographer is in great distress. He says the Boy is a Sickly Lad of a delicate frame, and particularly subject to a Malady in his Throat which renders him very unfit for his majesty's Service. You know what matter of animosity the said Johnson has against you, and I dare say you desire no other opportunity of resenting it than that of laying him under an obligation.[5] He was humble enough to desire my asistance on this occasion, though he and I were never catercousins, and I gave him to understand that I would make application to my Friend Mr Wilkes who perhaps by his Interest with Dr Hay[6] and Mr Elliot[7] might be able to procure the Discharge of his Lacquey. It would be superfluous to say more on the Subject which I leave to your own Consideration but I cannot let slip this opportunity of declaring that I am, with the most inviolable esteem and attachment,

Dear Sir,

your affectionate obliged humble servt

Ts SMOLLETT

CHELSEA *March 16 1759*

Letter 40

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Dear sir

Ecce iterum Crispinus [1] — Your generosity with respect to Johnson shall be the theme of our applause and Thanksgiving.[2] I shall be very proud to find myself comprehended in your League offensive & defensive, nay, I consider myself already as a contracting Party & have Recourse to the asistance of my Allies. It is not, I believe, unknown to you that Admiral Knowles [3] has taken exception to a Paragraph in the Critical Review of last May & commenced a Prosecution against the Printer.[4] Now, whatever termination the Trial may have, we shall infallibly be exposed to a considerable Expense; & therefore I wish to see the Prosecution quashed. Some Gentlemen who are my friends,[5] have undertaken to find out and talk with those who are supposed to have influence with the said Admiral: may I beg the same favour (from) you, and your friends? The Trial will come on in the Beginning of May, and if the affair cannot be compromised, we intend to kick up a Dust & die hard. In a word, if that foolish Admiral has any regard to his own character he will be quiet, rather than provoke further the Resentment of

Dr Sir —

your very obliged humble servt

Tg Smollett

Chelsea *March 24. 1759*

Letter 41

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Dear Sir

Nothing could give me more Pleasure than Such an agreable opportunity of being known to Mr. Fitzherbert:[1] But, I must at present deny myself that Pleasure, in consequence of an Engagement a week old. Which engagement I should make no scruple of breaking on this occasion, if I were not on my Good behaviour with some one whom I dissappointed a Fortnight ago. As for Johnson, I wish you may make him Sensible of the obligation he owes you. I desired my Printer to tell him what you had done with respect to his black servant, but I have heard nothing of his acknowledgement — and on the contrary I saw a very petulant card which he had sent to the Printer concerning an Article in the last Review.[2] I am

Dear Sir
With
attachment your much obliged
& obed^{t} serv^{t}

T^{s} SMOLLETT

CHELSEA *April 1*

I know you will not forget
the affair with K——

Letter 42

TO MR RICHARDSON PRINTER — AT HIS HOUSE IN FLEET STREET

Dear Sir

I have just now received from your house eight printed sheets of the Modern History,[1] four of vol. xv. and four of vol. xvi., which I suppose have been written by Mr Shirley;[2] but I protest I know not what I am to do with them. Pray, Sir, are these proof sheets to be corrected for the press, or are they already printed off? There is an intimation in the margin of the last page, that Mr Shirley goes no farther, and that you have been at a stand for several months. But this defect I cannot remedy until I shall have completed the chasm upon which I am at work; and now I talk of that chasm, I cannot help repeating my complaint, that Dr Campbell[3] should have left the task to me, of filling up a chasm of fifteen or sixteen sheets, with a description of a country which all the art of man cannot spin out to half the number. I have before me all that ever was written on the subject, and find the task altogether impossible, unless we throw into this place the discovery and description of the Straits of Magellan, Terra del Fuego, the Straits of Le Maire, Cape Horn, and an account of the voyages of some Navigators who have sailed round it into the South Sea. I do not see any impropriety in this expedient, as the subject naturally be-

longs to, or at least has an affinity with, that of the countries situated towards the Anntartic circle, and South Pole. I wish you would reflect upon this proposal, and favour me with your sentiments of it, that I may proceed accordingly.[4] Meanwhile, I am, with inviolable esteem,

Dear Sir

Your very humble servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea, *April 4, 1759*

Letter 43

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Dear Sir

Were I not restrained by a sore Throat & consciousness of a very capricious Constitution, I should certainly avail myself of your kind Invitation. The Truth is, I love the Country, especially at this Season, and I long to see your House at Aylesbury,[1] as much as ever Akenside[2] or Gilbert Cooper[3] or any other wrongheaded Platonist longed to visit the Groves of Academus. I am sure I should there find much more agreable Company and much better Chear than ever Plato, or at least than ever his master Socrates knew; nor, at your Table should I have any reason to complain that the *Sal Atticum*[4] was wanting. But, for the present, I

am obliged to enjoy these Pleasures in Speculation only; & even this feast of Imagination am I fain to snatch as a momentary Respite from reading dull books & writing dull Commentaries *invita Minerva*,[5] a Task almost as dissagreable as that of dining with our friend Armstrong when the wind blows from the East, on a Loin of Veal roasted with Butter Sauce.[6] I wish to God you who have so much Influence over our friend would persuade him to write an ode to *Eoster* the Goddess of the East wind, so religiously cultivated by our Saxon Progenitors, especially in the month of April: It would doubtless be the finest Satire that ever appeared. It would contain the very Essence of peevish Delicacy inflamed to a poetical Orgasm. I cannot express the Sense I have of all your Kindness or sufficiently acknowledge my obligation to you & Mr. Fitzherbert,[7] for the Pains you have taken to pacify our incensed Admiral who is, it seems, determined to Proceed to Trial — but — *Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum — intactum Pallanta* [8] — I wish you uninterrupted Happiness at Aylesbury, & indeed in such company I do not see how you can be other-wise than happy; & I am with unshaken attachment, Dear Sir

Your faithfull servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *April 20 1759*

Letter 44

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Dear Sir

I am still enfeebled,[1] otherwise I would wait on you in person, and verbally sollicit your advice and asistance. K——[2] and his Friends talk of nothing but heavy Fines & Imprisonment. On the other hand I am informed that in actions of this kind, it is not uncommon for the Defendant to obtain of the attorney Genl[3] a writt of noli prosequi, as the Prosecution is carried on in the name of the Crown; & that the Attorney Genl on such occasions receives orders from the secretary of State[4] — nor is this any Hardship on the Plaintiff, as he has afterwards his Remedy at Common Law for any Damage he may have sustained by the pretended Libel. my dear Sir, if you could think of any method of application to Mr Pitt, that could give me any chance for obtaining such an Interposition, I flatter myself that you would, as usual, employ your Interest in behalf of

Dear Sir

Your much obliged &

affectionate humble Servt

Tg Smollett

Chelsea *Octr. 19. 1759*

Letter 45

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

Dear Doctor,

I have had a return of my asthma, in consequence of catching fresh cold, otherwise I would this day wait upon you in person. Mr. Jameson,[1] from Brussels, was here, and I asked him if he had received the money for the bill which I drew upon you from Flanders.[2] He answered that he knew nothing of the matter. I have forgot whether or not you paid it to his correspondent in London. In case you have not, he goes out of town tomorrow; and I wish that affair was settled, as he has behaved with great friendship and honour on the occasion. He lodges at Mr. Dobbins,[3] upholsterer, in Conduit street; and I should take it as a particular favour, if you would call upon him. I long to know what steps you have taken with respect to Spain:[4] and am, dear Sir, your much obliged affectionate humble servant,&c.

CHELSEA *October 30 1759*

Letter 46

(TO DR. MACAULAY)

Dear Doctor,

I am again solicited [1] in behalf of that poor man, Mr. Hamilton.[2] His account is settled to the satisfaction of everybody. He wants to go to Scotland; is starving in London, and in danger of being arrested for small debts. He says, if Mr. Maclean [3] will pay the money on the attachment's being laid, he will find sureties for an indemnification. In that case he cannot possibly be a loser. I am really shocked at giving you so much trouble about myself and other miserable suppliants. But this man makes me extremely unhappy; and I know you take pleasure in the exercise of benevolence. Besides, Mr. Milne [4] is his creditor, and at present in great want of money for his Christmas payments. He is likewise mine; and if this money can be procured for Mr. Hamilton, he will excuse me for the present. We must therefore once more have recourse to your good offices. Mr. Garrick,[5] in a very civil letter, gave me to understand that it will be proper to defer the representation of my piece until after the holidays. I have inclosed a begging card belonging to a countryman of ours, one Forbes.[6] The man I know not, but the prize is an elegant book. I am, with glowing gratitude and affection, dear Sir, yours, &c.

I wish you could get me an article for the next number of the Review, on painting, statuary, or engraving.[7] What do you think of the Bacchus? [8] Upon second thoughts, I have sent two cards; perhaps Dr. Hunter [9] or Dr. Clephane [10] will take one.

CHELSEA *December 14 1759* [1]

Letter 47

(TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON)

Dear Sir,

Inclosed, I send a few remarks [1] on Mr Richardson's paper; and if, after you and the other gentlemen concerned, have printed them, you still think it expedient to publish a new account of the work,[1] according to our good friend's [2] proposal, I am ready to execute it, to the best of my power. I likewise inclose a small list of books for the history of Sweden. I have already got Puffendorf; [3] the Memoirs of Queen Christina; an account of the Swedish Constitution; and am, Sir, yours sincerely,

CHELSEA, *Feb. 4, 1760.*

Letter 48

(TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON)

Dear Sir,

You will receive, with this, the last part of the copy for France [1] which was in my possession, and which brings the history no farther down than the year 1656, in the minority of Louis XIV. I suppose the rest of the copy must be with you or Mr Millar. You will see, that, in this parcel, I have expunged many needless notes, abridged the text in divers places, and written side-notes where they were wanting; and all this with the great toil and hazard of my eyes; for, though the hand-writing be very fine, it is also very small, and extremely difficult to read. The great bulk of this copy arises, not from a great multiplicity of incidents and variety of matter, but from a certain spunginess of expression; and therefore, cannot be properly pared, unless we were to write the whole over again. In writing the history of Sweden, we are at a great loss, and indeed a full stop, for want of the *Histoire General de Swede*,[2] which I wrote for to Mr Millar [3] several months ago. I am, with great sincerity and esteem, dear Sir, your very humble servant, &c.

I should think myself happy, if you would favour our Magazine [4] with any loose essay, lying by you, which you do not intend for another sort of publication.

CHELSEA, *May 1, 1760.*

Letter 49

(TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON)

Dear Sir,

As the authors who treat of Sweden, cannot be procured, I must either lay the work aside, or proceed to another subject. I have pitched upon Holland,[1] and inclosed a list of books, which I beg may be sent with all expedition, as both I and my amanuensis [2] are idle. In the meantime, I am, with great esteem, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant, &c.

CHELSEA, *May 31, 1760.*

Letter 50

(TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON)

Dear Sir,

I have dropped a few hints [1] on the other leaf, which you will please to cast your eye upon, before you meet the other proprietors of the Universal History. I think it my duty to submit them to your opinion, as well as to caution you against any proprietor who may have an interest in pressing a discontinuance of the work, from a view to be concerned in a rival performance set

up against the Universal History. For my own part, I declare myself altogether uninterested in your determination,[1] as I can always employ my time to much greater advantage than I could possibly reap from the completion of this work; and am now fully resolved to have no new employments with the proprietors in any scheme of abridgement: at least, I shall never tie up my hands in such a manner as to render myself a slave for life to a work which I should never live to accomplish. Other tradesmen can acquire wealth, by employing a number of good hands under their immediate direction; but an author of genius and reputation must, it seems, be a journeyman for life, and be obliged to subsist by the labour of his own hands.[2] Such doctrine, I know your generous heart disdains: you pay a more proper respect to learning and ingenuity, to that class of writers among whom you possess such superior rank and unenvied eminence.[3] But such are the maxims of a set of contemptible reptiles,[2] who have enriched themselves by works which have scarce afforded their authors the necessities of life. I am, with the utmost deference and esteem, dear Sir, your very humble servant, &c.

CHELSEA, *October 12, 1760.*

Letter 51

(TO DAVID GARRICK)

I see Mr Colman [1] has taken offence at the article in the Critical Review which treats of the "Rosciad," and I understand he suspected me to be the author of that article. Had he asked me the question, I should have freely told him I was not the author of the offensive article,[2] and readily contributed to any decent scheme which might have been proposed for his satisfaction. But as he has appealed to the public,[3] I shall leave him and the real author to settle the affair between themselves,[4] and content myself with declaring to you, and that upon my honour, that I did not write one word of the article upon the "Rosciad," and that I have no ill will nor envy to Mr Colman, whom I have always respected as a man of genius, and whose genius I shall always be ready and pleased to acknowledge either in private or in public. I envy no man of merit; and I can safely say I do not even repine at the success of those who have no merit. I am old enough to have seen and observed that we are all playthings of fortune and that it depends upon something as insignificant and precarious as the tossing up of a halfpenny, whether a man rises to affluence and honours, or continues to his dying day struggling with the difficulties and disgraces of life.[5] I desire to live quietly with all mankind, and, if possible, to be upon good terms with all those who

have distinguished themselves by their merit. I must own, that if I had examined the article upon the "Rosciad" before it was sent to the press, I should have put my negative upon some expressions in it, though I cannot see in it any reflection to the prejudice of Mr Colman's moral character; but I have been so hurried since my enlargement,[6] that I had not time to write one article in the Critical Review, except that upon Bower's History,[7] and perhaps I shall not write another these six months. That hurry and a bad state of health, have prevented me from returning in person the visit [8] you favoured me with in the King's Bench. I beg you will accept this letter in lieu of it, and believe me that no man respects Mr Garrick more than he is respected by his obliged humble servant, etc.

CHELSEA, *Apr. 5 1761*

Letter 52

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Dear Sir

If I was not remarkably interested in behalf of the Bearer, I would not give you this Trouble. His name is Robert Love,[1] son of the man [2] from whose Instruction I imbibed the first Principles of my Education. He has

been bred to the Sea, and acted as a petty officer on board of a King's Ship, to the entire Satisfaction of his Commander, as will appear from the Certificates which he can produce. He has distinguished himself in some desperate Pieces of Service, particularly in boarding the french ships in Louisbourg Harbour,[3] and in attacking with Boats two Privateers in Cumberland Harbour [4] on the Island of Cuba. He was Sent home from Jamaica, Commander of a considerable Prize, and has lately passed Examinations as a Lieutenant, but being utterly destitute of Interest, I presume to recommend him to your good offices, and will vouch for his being a brave, honest & skillfull mariner. Shall I beg the favour of your mentioning him to Dr. Hay,[5] or any other member of the Board of Admiralty? — I should think there would be no great difficulty in procuring a Commission for such a man, at a time when Seamen are so much in Request. I know you will forgive this Freedom, and allow me to be, with the most perfect esteem & affection

Dear Sir

Your much obliged & most obed^{t} serv^{t}

T^{s} Smollett

Chelsea, *Nov^{r}. 2. 1761*

Letter 53

(TO DAVID GARRICK)

Dear Sir

I this morning received your Winter's Tale,[1] and am agreeably flattered by this mark of your attention. What I have said of Mr. Garrick in the *History of England*, was, I protest, the language of my heart. I shall rejoice if he thinks I have done him barely justice. In giving a short sketch of the liberal arts, I could not, with any propriety, forbear mentioning a gentleman so eminently distinguished by a genius that has no rival. Besides, I thought it was incumbent on me in particular to make a public atonement, in a work of truth, for wrongs done him in a work of fiction.[2]

Among the other inconveniences arising from ill health,[3] I deeply regret my being disabled from a personal cultivation of your good-will, and the unspeakable enjoyment I should sometimes derive from your private conversation, as well as from the public exertion of your talents; but, sequestered as I am from the world of entertainment, the consciousness of standing well in your opinion, will ever afford singular satisfaction to

Dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant

T^s^ SMOLLETT

CHELSEA, *Jan. 27, 1762*

Letter 54

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Dear Sir

My warmest regard, affection and attachment you have long ago Secured. My Secrecy you may depend upon — when I presume to differ from you in any point of opinion, I shall always do it with Diffidence and Deference [1] — I have been ill these three months: but hope Soon to be in a condition to pay my respects to Mr. Wilkes in Person — meanwhile I must beg leave to trouble him with another Packet [2] which he will be so good as to correct at his Leisure. That he may continue to enjoy his happy flow of spirits & proceed through Life with a flowing sail of Prosperity and Reputation is the wish, and the Hope & the confident Expectation of his much obliged humble servt

Ts Smollett

Chelsea *March 28 1762*

Letter 55

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir

Tho' our Correspondence has suffered a long Interruption, I take it for granted that our mutual Regard is not at all impaired. In this opinion, I take the Liberty

to introduce to your acquaintance & good offices, the Bearer Mr. Holt [1] and his two pupils Messrs. Amre.[2] The Governour is a native of Denmark; and the two young Gentlemen are sons of a rich merchant in Norway. They are travelling for Improvement, and tho' I have not the Pleasure of knowing them personally, a particular friend of mine has described their Characters in such a favourable point of view, that I will venture to recommend them as strangers of worth peculiarly entitled to the Rites of Hospitality. Pray remember me to Dr. Stevenson,[3] Messrs. Barclay [4] Urie [5] & all my other Glasgow Friends, and allow me to be still

Your very affectionate Friend & Servt.

Ts. Smollett

Chelsea *April 10th. 1762*

Letter 56

TO DR. WILLIAM HUNTER [1]

Dear Hunter,

I have been hedging & lurching these Six weeks, in expectation of that cursed Ship from Jamaica, which is at last arrived without Letter or Remittance [2] — I do not know whether God will have it that you should endure the Persecution of my wants, without flinching or that I should at length tire you out & be shaken off at once but certain it is, I am at present in consequence of

little Demands which I have put off to the last day of Procrastination, in absolute necessity of eight or ten pieces, without which I can no longer answer the Occasions of my Family. This Declaration is by God himself! like wormwood & Brimstone to me; and were myself alone concerned, I would rather perish than have Recourse to such beggarly sollicitation: — for heaven's Sake do not look upon me as one of those Sneaking Rascals who can stoop to subsist upon what they can borrow, without shame, Remorse, or purpose of Repayment. I am an unfortunate Dog whose Pride Providence thinks fit to punish with the Tortures of incessant Mortification: & I resent my Lot accordingly, but in the midst of those Littlenesses to which my Destiny drives me I am still with a due Sense of the Predicament in which I stand.

Yours, &c.

T^s^ Smollett

Letter 57

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

(Dear Sir

I was lately favoured with yours, by the hands of Mr. Richardson,[1] whom, however, I had not the good fortune to see. The long Interruption in our Correspondence had made no alteration in my Friendship; nor

did I suppose it had any effect upon yours, as you are probably convinced, by this time, from a Letter of Introduction I sometime ago wrote you in favour of some Gentlemen from Norway,[2] who propose to make the Tour of Scotland.) I am much affected by your kind concern for my Health, and believe the Remedy [3] you propose might have a happy Effect; but it must be postponed. To tell you the Truth, I have a Presentment that I shall never see Scotland again.[4] Be that as it may, I shall ever retain for it a Regard which is truly filial. I have had no attack of the asthma these two months; but I am extremely emaciated; and am afflicted with a leeking Catarrh, & cough all night without ceasing. My appetite holds good; my spirits are tolerable; and I believe I might retrieve my Constitution by a determined course of Exercise and the Cold Bath.[5] But neither my Indolence nor my occupation will permit me to persevere in these endeavours. (I am happy in the good opinion of Mr[s] Moore, but should be still more happy had I the opportunity of cultivating it in person.[6] I beg you will present her with my best Respects & most cordial affection. If any of my old Friends in Glasgow remember me let them know, I still review our Connections with intermingled pleasure and regret. When you have an idle hour, you cannot employ it more charitably than in writing to)

your affectionate friend and very humble Serv[t]

T[s] Smollett

Chelsea *June 1 1762*

Letter 58

TO DR. WILLIAM HUNTER

Dear Sir,

I am much affected by the last mark of your Friendship [1] which I received the day before I set out on my Journey; & hope you will give me leave to enjoy it in my own way. I have been at Southampton & crossed the Country from the New Forrest to Bath where I am now settled in private Lodgings.[2] My Health was so indifferent during the whole Journey, that I was obliged to get out of Bed every night and Sit two hours untill the Difficulty of Breathing had abated. Since my arrival in Bath I have in spite of a fresh Cold, slept very well, without any Interruption from the Asthma. I drink moderately of the water; ride out every day on the Downs, eat like a horse, & if I could recover a little Flesh I should think myself already cured; but the Truth is, I am thinner than when I last saw you, & begin to be afraid of looking in the Glass of a morning. I believe my breathing so easily is owing to the warmth and moisture of the air at Bath, which seems to be peculiarly adapted to my lungs: yet I can feel a very sensible Effect from the waters. I have no sooner drank a large Glass of them hot from the springs than my Face my Hands & Feet begin to glow; and the Sensation is succeeded by an itching and tingling all over the Surface of my Body, resembling what is called the

prickly Heat in the West Indies. I think I can plainly perceive these mineral waters opening up the obstructed Capillaries, & restoring the Perspiration which in the Extremities had been in a great measure lost. I intend in a few days to bathe with a view to open still more effectually the Strainer of the Skin. I beg pardon for taking up so much of your time; but the subject is interesting to

(Dear Doctor,)
your much obliged & affectionate
humble Servt

Ts Smollett.

Bath *Octr. 2 1762*

My Compts to our friends, Dr Macaulay[3] & Pitcairn[4]

Letter 59

TO JOHN HOME[1] ESQ AT HIS LODGINGS IN CHAPEL COURT SOUTH AUDLEY STREET

Dear Sir

My Flesh continues to waste, and I begin to think the best chance I have for Recovering, will be a Removal into a warmer climate. As I am unwilling to eat the Bread of Idleness, and flatter myself that I might still be in some shape Serviceable to my Country, I cannot help expressing my wish that instead of the

Pension,[2] I were gratified with Some moderate Consulship abroad, the salary of which would enable me to live with Comfort. In the last ministry I made some advances towards the Consulship of Madrid,[3] for which I thought myself in some respects qualified, as I understood the Spanish Language & was personally known to Mr Wall [4] the minister of his catholic majesty; But, this Pear was thought far above my Pretensions. I was however, offered the Consulate of Nice in Italy,[5] the appointments of which were not sufficient to maintain my Family; & even those dependant upon the war. I understand there is in time of Peace an English Consul at Marseilles with a very moderate Salary, & that the place is now vacant. The Climate of that Country, would, I am persuaded, Suit with my Constitution, and should I be thought unworthy of filling the office at Madrid, which is also vacant, perhaps the Earl [6] (of Bute *erased*) would, upon a Representation of my Case, indulge me with the Consulship of Marseilles.[7]

I need say no more upon the Subject, but that if you think there is the least Presumption, or Impropriety in making such a Request you will take no further notice of this Hint, but suppress it as an Indiscretion of

Dear Sir

Your much obliged Servt

Tg Smollett

Chelsea *Decr 27, 1762*

Letter 60

(TO RICHARD SMITH[1] ESQ. OF NEW JERSEY, NORTH AMERICA)

Sir,

I am favoured with yours of the 26th of February, and cannot but be pleased to find myself, as a writer, so high in your Esteem. The Curiosity you express, with regard to the particulars of my Life, and the variety of situations in which I may have been, cannot be gratified within the compass of a Letter. Besides, there are some particulars of my Life which it would ill become me to relate. The only similitude between the circumstances of my own Fortune, and those I have attributed to Roderick Random, consists in my being of a reputable Family in Scotland, in my being bred a Surgeon, and having served as a Surgeon's mate on board of a man of war, during the Expedition to Carthagena. The low situations in which I have exhibited Roderick, I never experienced in my own Person. I married, very young, a native of Jamaica, a young Lady well known and universally respected, under the name of Miss Nancy Lassells; and by her I enjoy a comfortable tho' moderate estate in that Island. I practised Surgery in London, after having Improved myself by travelling, in France and other foreign countries, till the year 1749, when I took my Degree of Doctor in Medicine, and have lived ever since in Chelsea, (I hope) with credit

and reputation.[2] No man knows better than Mr. Rivington,[3] what time I employed in writing the first four volumes of the History of England; and indeed the short Period in which that work was finished, appears almost incredible to myself, when I recollect that I turned over and consulted above three hundred volumes in the course of my Labour. Mr. Rivington likewise knows, that I spent the best part of a year in revising, correcting, and improving the Quarto Edition, which is now going to the Press, and will be continued in the same style to the late Peace. Whatever reputation I may have got by this work has been dearly bought by the Loss of Health, which I am of opinion I shall never retrieve. I am now going to the South of France, in order to try the effects of that climate; [4] and very probably I shall never return. I am much obliged to you for the Hope you express, that I have obtained some provision from his Majesty; but the Truth is, I have neither Pension nor Place, nor am I of that Disposition which can stoop to Sollicit either.[5] I have always piqued myself upon my Independancy, and I trust in God, I shall preserve it to my dying day. Exclusive of some small detached Performances that have been published occasionally in papers and magazines, the following is a genuine list of my Productions:

Roderick Random, the Regicide, a Tragedy, a Translation of Gil Blas, a Translation of Don Quixotte, an Essay upon the external use of Water, Peregrine Pickle, Ferdinand Count Fathom, Great Part of the Critical Review, a very small part of a compendium of

voyages, the Complete History of England and Continuation, a small part of the modern Universal History; some pieces in the British Magazine, comprehending the whole of Sir Launcelot Greaves; a small part of the Translation of Voltaire's works, including all the notes historical and critical to be found in that Translation.[6] I am much mortified to find it believed in America, that I have lent my name to Booksellers; that is a species of Prostitution of which I am altogether incapable. I had engaged with Mr. Rivington and made some Progress in a work, exhibiting the present state of the world: which work I shall finish if I recover my health.[7] If you should see Mr. Rivington, please give my kindest comp'ts to him; tell him I wish him all manner of Happiness, though I have little to expect for my own share, having lost my only child a fine girl of Fifteen, whose death has overwhelmed myself and my wife with unutterable sorrow.[8]

I have now complied with your request, and beg, in my turn, you will commend me to all my Friends in America. I have endeavoured, more than once, to do the Colonies some service;[9] and I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servt

Ts Smollett

London, *May 8, 1763.*

Letter 61

TO DR. WILLIAM HUNTER

Dear Doctor,

In case I should not have the Pleasure of taking my Leave of you by word of mouth, I seize this opportunity of thanking you for the manifold Instances of your Friendship which I have received; Instances which I shall ever remember with the strongest emotions of Gratitude, Esteem, & Affection. Should I never return, I hope I shall leave effects sufficient to discharge all the Debts I have contracted.[1] I am now ambitious of nothing so much, as of dying with the Character of an honest man. Such is the Tenderness of my nature enervated by ill Health & misfortune,[2] that I cannot well stand the shock of parting from my best Friends. Pray tell my dear friend Dr. Macaulay that I shall write to him as soon as I arrive at Boulogne. I intended to have left with him a power of Attorney to transact some of my affairs; but his being taken ill prevented me from conferring with him upon that Subject, so that I have left a Power with Mr. Hamilton,[3] and will explain this affair in my Letter to the Doctor. I heartily pray God you may proceed in the Path you are in to wealth and Honour,[4] that you may enjoy every species of Happiness, and continue to do Honour to

your Country as well as to your particular Friends, in the number of whom I flatter myself you will admit,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged humble Servt

Ts Smollett

Jermyn Street,[5] *June 14, 1763*

Dr. Hunter.

I cannot help expressing an eager Desire that your Brother's future Conduct may entitle him to a revival of those favourable sentiments in you, which he has indiscreetly Forfeited.[6]

Letter 62

(TO MR. ALEX. REID,[1] PARADISE ROW,[2] SURGEON IN CHELSEA, BY LONDON)

Dear Sir, —

Your obliging Letter was doubly acceptable; both for the Entertainment I received from it; and as it concerned me that I am still remembered with regard by my old friends in Chelsea. Indeed I cannot help respecting Chelsea as a Second native Place, notwithstanding the irreparable misfortunes which happened to me while I resided in it; I mean the Loss of my Health, & of that which was dearer to me than Health itself, my

darling Child,[3] whom I cannot yet remember with any degree of Composure.

With respect to my Constitution, I have lost ground since I left England. I now bathe in the Sea; & shall in ten days or a Fortnight [4] set out for Nice in Provence, a Journey of Eight hundred & sixty four miles. This is my last Stake; & if it does not answer, I must give up all thoughts of ever seeing my Friends in England — when there is no remedy we must submit. Before I arrived in France I thought the climate of England was the most dissagreable on the face of the Earth: but here it is a thousand times more vexatious, more variable, & more inclement. I am very glad to hear your Concert was so brilliant; & I hope all your Chelsea Societies will continue to flourish. I understand there is a Lodge of french free [8] masons at Boulogne, but I am not well enough to visit them. I am much mortified that my ill Health will not permit me to enjoy a Bottle of good Claret which I have at the rate of Fifteen pence Sterling. In Languedoc I can have it for the fifteenth part of that sum. The season here is very backward. Green Geese, Soles and Turbot are just come in: there is not an Apri(c)ock ripe within these three Leagues of Boulogne. however, the Rye harvest is begun, & in ten days they will cut down their wheat. Every thing here is done in a clumsy & slovenly manner, which is very dissagreable and even shocking to those who have been accustomed to English neatness; and there is a total want of Delicacy in the manners of the People.[5] They are generally civil; but they have no Sentiment; &

their Ignorance & Superstition put me out of all Patience.

My wife who enjoys pretty good Health, joins me in my best respects to Mr^s^ Reid, & in my best wishes for your Children, who are by this time, I hope, quite recovered of the Hooping Cough. I pray God they may live to be a Comfort to you both; & that you may never feel the Pangs of that unspeakable Grief which the Loss of a beloved child, inspires.

Pray, remember me to my good Friends Messr^s^ Wilton [6] & Russel,[7] & to all our Brotherhood at the Swan [8] — when you see Halford,[9] tell him I am surprised he never answered my Letter; & believe me to be with great Truth and affection

Dear Sawney

Your Sincere friend and humble Serv^t^

T^s^ Smollett

Boulogne, *Aug. 3, 1763*

Letter 63

TO DR. JOHN HUNTER [1]

Dear Sir

Two or three Posts ago, I took the Liberty to write a Letter to the Earl of Hertford,[2] in order to express my acknowledgement for the Trouble his Lordship had taken in the affair of my Books: & I gave him to under-

stand that I had heard nothing of them Since his Lordship had been so good as to recommend them to the attention of Mr Neville[3] at Paris —

Yesterday they were delivered to me unexamined,[4] in consequence of an order Sent to the Intendant of Picardy; and this day I have written a Letter of Thanks to Mr Neville: but, as Lord Hertford may from his peculiar Benevolence of Disposition, take the trouble of writing again to Mr Neville on this Subject, I shall take it as a very Singular Favour if you will present my most respectfull Compliments to him, and let him know that the Books are restored. This Request I am the more encouraged to make, as I know you are often at his Lordship's House.

I received your obliging Letter in due Course; and the Contents of it are engraven on my Heart —

This is the twentieth day of my bathing in the Sea, from which I have received Such Benefit as almost transcends Belief.[5]

a few days ago, I dined with General Paterson[6] late Governour of Nice, who treated me with the most cordial Kindness, & favoured me with Such Recommendations & Directions, as will equally redound to my Honour and Satisfaction —

You say you should be glad to have every curious Book on the face of the Earth: But, I should be afraid of Sending you Some Books which you may have already.

I propose to Set out for Paris in a Fortnight, on my

way to Lyons: But wheresoever I may be, I shall never forget that I am
with the most perfect Friendship and Esteem
Dear Doctor,
your much obliged humble Servt

Tᵒ Smollett

Boulogne Sur mer
Augt 11. 1763

Letter 64

(TO DR. WILLIAM HUNTER)

Dear Sir

I recieved your last Favour at Boulogne when I was upon the Wing to the Southward, and deferred answering it, untill I should be able to say something satisfactory of the Place where I might pass the winter. I was induced to visit Montpellier by sundry Considerations, tho' it is about twelve Leagues out of the Road to Nice. I expected my Baggage at Cette which is the Port of Montpellier. I wished to see the antiquities of Nismes, which gave me incredible Pleasure; and I hoped that the air of Montpellier would agree with my Constitution, so as to save me the Trouble and Expence of a long Journey to the Banks of the Var. I found the Place very agreable, & met with some Families of English People with whom I could have passed

my Time in a very sociable way: but in a few days after I arrived, the weather broke up: it rained incessantly a whole week;[1] and this change of the atmosphere relaxed me to such a degree that all my complaints returned together with a most uncomfortable Dejection of spirits. I had the advice of one Dr. Fitzmorrice[2] an honest high Physician of the Place; and I consulted Dr. Fizes[3] the Boerhaave[4] of Montpellier, who is an old sordid scoundrel, and an old woman into the Bargain. I sent him my case in Latin, which he answered in French — the correspondence between us, was diverting enough — if ever I return to England, you shall see the original Papers.[5] Tho' I expressly assured him that I never discharged anything like matter from the Lungs, he insisted upon it that I had Tubercules which were suppurated. he prescribed Bouillons of Land Tortoise, for a fortnight, opiates at night, & then a course of Goats milk; but, not a word of Exercise[6] — I found he had a set of Phrases & Prescriptions which he applied to all cases indiscriminately for when I arrived at Nice, Mr. Mayne[7] an English Gentleman (now dead) shewed me a Paper of Directions written by Fizes, in exactly the same words which he had used to me.

Finding the air of Montpellier too sharp for my constitution, & the Place too expensive for my Finnances, I set out for Nice on the thirteenth of November and here I arrived on the twenty third. As I take it for granted you have seen my Letter to Dr. Macaulay,[8] I need not repeat what I have said to him with regard to

my situation. I have now resided above two months in the place & find myself surprisingly recovered as to the asthmatic Disorder, the little hectic Fever and lowness of spirits — all these are gone. I eat heartily. I sleep sound, almost without interruption from the cough which is much diminished, as well as the spitting: but still the Tuber continues. I grow thinner and thinner; but I am not without hope of recruiting in the spring. — indeed, here is Spring & even Summer all the year.[9] Roses, Jonquills, Ranunculas & Anemonies flower all the year; and in about three weeks, the oranges, Lemons, citrons & Bergamots will begin to be gathered. Nice is a narrow Town wedged in between a high mountain & the River Pagliou which washes the walls on one side & falls into the Mediterranean at the Distance of ten yards from the corner of one of the Bastions. This River at present, puts me in mind of a Scotch Brook divided into several small streamlets brawling over a broad Bed of Peebles: but after sudden storms it swells to a very formidable stream; & in the year 1744, many hundreds of the french & spaniards were drowned in it, after having been repulsed in an attack made upon the Piedmontese Intrenchments within a short mile of Nice. The assailants lost five thousand men upon that occasion. The maritime alps begin about a half a mile from the land Gate of Nice, and form a most delightfull amphitheatre extending about a league all around the city. The mountains are covered with olives to the very tops, and these trees are green all the winter. The Eye is inchanted by a

vast number of white cassines or Houses rising through the Trees, and each of these cassines has a Garden with Groves of oranges & loaded with Fruit. Some of these Houses are magnificent: but the greater part belong to Farmers & Citizens, & look much better at a Distance than near at hand, among them also are two convents standing in a most imperial situation; & divers old fortified castles which add greatly to the Beauty of the Prospect. When the wind blows from the mountains (which at a distance are now covered with snow) the air is sharp on the land side of the Town, & I have seen the pools covered with Ice; but, on that part of the Rampart which faces the Mediterranean, you enjoy summer all the year — while the wind blows from the mountains the weather is always fair; because indeed, there is no room for a collection of clouds & vapours between the mountains & the Sea, & those mountains are so high, that the clouds from Piedmont are detained on the other side, it rains only when the South wind blows the vapours of the Mediterranean against the Nice side of these mountains; & this is so seldom the case that we often have clear skies without the least spot or Blemish for six weeks, two, & even three months successively. Even in the severest weather at Nice very few People use Fires in their chambers, & most of the Houses in Town, have no Glass in their windows. In such an equal & benign climate, I apprehend, the Perspiration must be equally & happily performed; & to this cause I chiefly ascribe the free Respiration which I and many other asthma-

tic people enjoy in this place; for, here are some Persons who live comfortable and breathe freely after having found even the climates of Languedoc and Provence intolerable. At Villafranca which is on the other side of the mountain about two miles from hence, the air is still more mild than at Nice, because that mountain defends it intirely from the north & East; but, then the Place is so confined that there is no room for Exercise. We lie right opposite to Algiers, & (I am told) can see the Island of Corsica, when the sky is very clear. Our situation is in the Bottom of a Delightfull Bay, within thirty leagues of Marseilles on one hand, & of Genoa on the other: we are at the same distance from Turin. We can go from hence in a Felucca to Leghorn, in four & twenty hours; & I own I am strongly tempted to make a short Tour of Florence, Rome and Naples, which I think I can finish in one month.[10] With this in View I am at present giving my whole attention to the italian Language which I think I shall be able to speak tolerably in six months. All the People of condition here speak italian, which is used in all Pulpits & in all the courts of Justice; but the Language of the country is the old provençal, which is improperly called *Patois:* for *Patois* means no more than the vulgar Dialect of any Language; whereas this is an original of itself — it is indeed the Language which rose upon the Ruins of the Latin, & was spoke by the Inhabitants of Italy, Spain & France, before each of these nations refined it into the Language which is now spoken in each of those countries.

If your sister is with you still, pray offer her my most respectfull compts & those of my wife who is in good health & spirits, & sends her best Respects to you also. Remember me kindly to Jock,[11] to Drs Macaulay,[8] Pitcairn,[12] Dickson [13] and all my worthy friends; and allow me to be with unalterable Truth, Esteem & affection

Dear Doctor

Your much obliged humble servant

Ts Smollett

Nice *Feby 6 1764*

Dr Dr. I forgot to mention that the scurvy is not known in this country; & all the People have the whitest & the soundest Teeth that ever I saw. I wish I could send you a Head: [14] but, I am afraid I shall find no opportunity. That there is something which attenuates the Blood, would appear from the case of some of our

(line in MS obliterated by the pen)

Adieu

I went last week to see the Remains of Cemeleon an old Roman City on a Hill about two miles to the northward of Nice. I found the Ruins of an amphitheatre [15] which was not large. The arena is intire, with some of the steps, & two or three Gateways arched: but the columns & Facade are intirely destroyed. A great many medals (gold, silver & copper) have been found in the neighbourhood, together with sepulchral & other Inscriptions, & there is an old Temple now converted

into a Peasant's House. The Portico is taken away, the arcades are built up with Rubble. The Peasant with his Family of nasty Brats live like so many Rats immediately under the Roof; & the space below serves for a stable, in which I found a starved Ox, a Jack-ass & a He-goat — I mention this assemblage, because in passing through Burgundy, I saw three animals of the same species drawing a Plough very peaceably together [16] — Here is no Learning, nor Taste of any kind. all is gothic pride, Ignorance & superstition.

Dr. Hunter

Letter 65

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear Sir

I take this opportunity of my friend Mr. Williams,[1] to inquire after your Health, and to let you know that I am returned to England after an absence of two years,[2] during which I have been more than once at the Brink of the grave — after all I have brought back no more than the skeleton of what I was; but with proper care that skeleton may hang for some years together. I propose to pass the winter at Bath,[3] and if I find that climate intolerable, I shall once more go into Exile, and never think of returning. (The Bearer M. Williams is a very worthy Gentleman, whose son is at your Univer-

sity, boarded with Professor Leechman.[4] I need say no more in the way of recommendation, knowing how ready you are to exercise your Hospitality in favour of all strangers, particularly those who are the Friends of)

Your affectionate humble Servt

Ts Smollett

London *July 15. 1765*

(I live in Brewers Street by Golden Square.[5])

Letter 66

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

(Dear Sir

I proposed answering your Kind Letter, by my old friend Duncan Niven;[1] but he forgot to call upon me before his Departure from London, as he promised to do.

Mrs. Williams payed me a Visit on purpose to thank me for the civilities, which she and her Husband received from you at Glasgow, in consequence of my Recommendation.[2] She seemed very full on the subject & expatiated much on your Politeness & Hospitality, I can do no less than thank you heartily for your attention to my friends, & to protest that nothing would give me more pleasure than an opportunity to return the obligation to any friend of yours.)

Your friendly sollicitude about my Health and concerns requires that I should give you a short sketch of my present situation. I gave up all connection with the Critical Review, and every other literary system,[3] before I quitted England. Since my return I have writt a few articles merely for amusement; but I have now no concern in the work.[4] The observations I made in the course of my travels through France and Italy I have thrown into a series of Letters, which will make two volumes in Octavo. They are now printing, & will be published in the spring.[5] I will not answer for their success with the Public; but as I have given a sort of natural History of Nice, with my remarks upon that climate, and a register of the weather, I hope the Performance may be usefull to other valetudinarians who travel for the Recovery of their Health. With respect to my own Health I cannot complain. I have not lately lost any Ground, but, on the contrary, have gained some flesh since my coming to Bath, where I have been these five weeks. I do not, however, flatter myself that I shall continue to mend, for I have always found myself better for about a month after any change of air, & then I relapse into my former state of Invalidity. My disorder is no other than weak lungs and a Constitution prone to Catarrhs, with an extraordinary irritability of the nervous system.[6] (The Perspiration being stopped by catching cold, what should pass off in that manner is accumulated in the Habit & thrown upon the weakest part of the Viscera. The Glands of these parts are stuffed with the acrimonious matter of the

Catarrh, hence a difficulty in breathing, partly from Plentitude, & partly from a spasmodic Constriction; a troublesome cough & a Discharge. My greatest misfortune is my being so extremely susceptible of cold, that I can hardly stir abroad without Danger.) Nothing agrees with me so well as hard exercise, which, however, the Indolence of my Disposition, continually counteracts. If I was a Galley slave, and kept to hard Labour for two or three years, I believe I should recover my Health entirely. The Bath water agrees with me wonderfully well; & upon the whole, I am so well at present that some of my friends declare they never saw me look better; but I will venture to say I am not above half as big as I was when you saw me last. To tell you the Truth, I look upon my being alive as a sort of Resuscitation, for, last year, I thought myself in the last stage of a Consumption. I long eagerly to see you and some other friends in Scotland: but the Distance between us, is so great that I despair of being ever able to gratify my Desire. Make my best compliments to Mr^{s} Moore — remember me to all our Glasgow Friends: comfort me with a Letter when you have leisure time, and believe me to be ever, Dear Sir,

your affectionate humble Serv^{t}

T^{s} Smollett

Bath, in Somersetshire
Nov 13. 1765

(Direct for D^{r} Smollett on the South Parade, Bath, Somersetshire[7])

Letter 67

TO DR. JOHN MOORE

Dear John Moore

I have been for some weeks resolved to write you an account of my Health, about which I know your friendly sollicitude;[1] but what hastens the execution of my purpose, is a letter I received last Post from Commissary Smollett,[2] desiring me to recommend a poor cousin of ours to your Countenance and Protection. Her name is Mr^{s} (Macarthur[3]), sister to (the Laird of Craignish[4]), (who is my first cousin). This unfortunate gentlewoman married (one Macarthur) who had a small estate in the Highlands, which having squandered away, he made his Retreat to Jamaica, leaving his Wife destitute, with a child upon her hands. — In this emergency she had virtue enough to study Midwifery under D^{r} Young[5] at Edinburgh, who I am told, has given ample Testimonials of her capacity; and she is represented to me as a Person of unblemished character. She has, it seems, resolved to settle at Glasgow, and there exercise her Profession. I need say no more, knowing as I do, that you will have a proper regard to the Interest I take in her concerns; & that if you find her properly qualified, you will encourage her as much as your own views and Connexions

will permit. So much for Mrs (Macarthur) & now for Dr Smollett. — You must remember, the miserable way in which I was at parting from you in August last;[6] at my return to Bath, I caught Cold, in consequence of which my Rheumatic Pains retired, and the Disorder in my Breast recurred, namely, an Orthopny, with an ugly cough and spitting, exclusive of a slow fever, from which I have never been free. But these symptoms gave me little Disturbance, in comparison with the ulcer on my Forearm, which continued to spread until it occupied the whole space, from about three inches above the wrist to the ball of the Thumb, so that I was entirely deprived of the use of my right-hand, and the Inflammation and pain daily increased. In the Beginning of November, it was supposed to be cancerous; at that period I could not sleep without an opiate, my Fever became continual, my appetite failed; & the Rheumatism again invaded me from the neck to the heel. In a word, I despaired of ever seeing the end of Winter, & every night when I went to bed, fervently wished that I might be dead before morning. In this comfortable situation, I consulted with Messrs Middleton[7] and Sharp,[8] the two most eminent Surgeons in England, who were then and are still at Bath. I had my Hand dressed before them, and proposed a course for the cure, which they approved. I forthwith began to dress the sore with double mercurial ointment made without turpentine. I took a dose of Van Sweeten's solution of corrosive sublimate every morning, and

drank a quart of strong decoction sarsae every day. On the second day of this regimen the matter was much mended, and the pain considerably abated. In one week I was quite free of the fever and Rheumatism, and my appetite returned in full perfection. In ten days I left off taking the sublimate, for by this time the ulcer was almost closed, and in another week skinned over. It continues still hard and scaly; but the cicatrix seems quite firm, and I can now use my hand almost as well as ever. I still drink the decoction, and never stirred out of my house till yesterday, when I ventured out in a chair, and got a cursed cold. In a word, my cure is looked upon as something supernatural; and I must own that I now find myself better in Health and Spirits than I have been at any time these seven years. Had I been as well in Summer, I should have exquisitely enjoyed my Expedition to Scotland, which was productive to me of nothing but Misery and Disgust. Between Friends, I am now convinced that my Brain was in some measure affected, for I had a kind of Coma upon me from April to November without Intermission. In consideration of these circumstances, I know you will forgive all my Peevishness and Discontent; [9] and tell good Mrs. Moore, to whom I present my most cordial Respects, that with regard to me she has as yet seen nothing but the wrong side of the Tapestry. Pray remember me kindly to your Brother-in-law Mr Simpson,[10] to Drs Stevenson [11] & Douglas,[12] to honest Robin Urie,[13] & all my Glasgow friends. Write me with

your first convenience, directing to Dr Smollett in Gay-street,[14] Bath, & believe me with the warmest affection and Esteem,

Dear John Moore,
Your much obliged humble servt

Ts Smollett

Bath *Febr 8. 1767*

Letter 68

(TO DOCTOR HUNTER AT HIS HOUSE IN JERMYN STREET,[1] LONDON)

Dear Sir,

I would rather be found guilty of Intrusion than be suspected of Ingratitude, & therefore I trouble you with this Intimation as in Duty bound, that you may know I am still crawling on the Face of the Earth, & that I am even in a Condition to crawl on all four as the use of my right hand is in some measure restored, by dressing it with mercurial ointment, & by Dint of Drinking the Decoction of Sarsaparilla. About three months ago, I was verily persuaded that the cursed ulcer on my Forearm, was become cancerous; & that the sore was a Judgement of God upon me for the ridiculous use I had made of that wretched member, in writing such a Heap of absurdities in the Course of my

authorial Probation. At present the Part is skinned over, but looks very shabby and leprous, & the Lord knows how soon it may break out again. Meanwhile, I can sit without agony and sleep without an opiate; and I am very ready to compound with Providence for the Priviledge of these happy Exemptions. After all, it is a long time, since I had any other than negative Enjoyments, & indeed I have almost forgot what positive Pleasure is. I am almost stupified with ill Health, Loss of memory, Confinement & solitude; & I believe in my Conscience, the Circulation would have stopped of itself, if it was not every now & then stimulated by the stings of my Grub street Friends, who attack me in the public Papers.[2] Sometimes I am baited as a Dunce, then a ministerial Hireling, then a Jacobite, then a rancorous Knave, then a Liar, Quack & assassin — a Dunce I partly believe myself to be; but as to the other Epithets, I humbly concieve they are missapplied; for, even Mr. Secretary Conway[3] himself, will never be able to persuade me that I am a Jacobite, or that I ever exhibited the outward signs and symptoms of that Infection. Long Life to these great Men! & I pray God they may become saints in Heaven — for my Part, even after their Canonization, I shall rather than trouble them on their Thrones of Beatification, address my Prayers to the spirit of honest George Macaulay[4] who I know will do me all the service in his power, notwithstanding the Discrepancy betwixt my notions of Government & those of his learned spouse,[5] who, I

am told, is now all masculine above low water mark — pray excuse this nonsense as a Thing of course from

Dear Doctor

Your much obliged humble servt

Ts Smollett

Bath *Feby 24. 1767*

Letter 69

(to david hume[1])

Dear Sir:

Perhaps I overrate my own consequence when I presume to recommend to your acquaintance and good offices, the bearer, Captain Robert Stobo;[2] a man whose very extraordinary services and sufferings in America, have merited, and obtained the most ample and honourable testimonials, which he will gladly submit to your perusal. I can safely say from my own knowledge, that he is not less modest and sensible in the conversation and occurrences of civil life than enterprising and indefatigable in his military capacity. All these good qualities, united to an extensive knowledge of our American concerns, cannot fail to engage the friendship and regard of Mr. David Hume, from what quarter soever they may come recommended.

With respect to myself, I am sorry I cannot have the pleasure of taking leave of you in person, before I go

into perpetual exile. I sincerely wish you all health and happiness. In whatever part of the earth it may be my fate to reside, I shall always remember with pleasure and recapitulate with pride, the friendly intercourse I have maintained with one of the best men, and undoubtedly the best writer of the age;[3] if any judgment in distinguishing either character or capacity may be allowed to, dear sir, your very humble servant,

T. Smollett

> Nos patriam fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
> Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.[4]

London *31st Aug. 1768.*

Letter 70

TO CALEB WHITEFOORD, ESQ.[1]

My Dear Sir

You could not have made me a more agreable Present than the Papers I received by the hands of our good friend Dr. Armstrong.[2] Some of the Pieces, I had read with great Pleasure in one of your Evening Papers: but my Satisfaction is much increased by knowing you are the Author: for, without Flattery, I really think these Fourteen Letters[3] contain more sense, spirit, wit & humour, than all I have as yet seen written on the other side of the question; & I am fully per-

suaded that if you had two or three Coadjutors of equal Talents, to play to one another's hands, & keep up the ball of Argument and Ridicule, you could actually at the long run, either shame or laugh the People out of their absurd Infatuation. Your ideas of characters & things so exactly tally with mine, that I cannot help flattering myself, so far as to imagine I should have expressed my Sentiments in the same manner on the same subjects, had I been disposed to make them public; supposing still that my ability corresponded with my ambition. I hope you will not discontinue your Endeavours to represent Faction & False patriotism [4] in their true colours, tho' I believe the Ministry [5] little deserves that any man of Genius should draw his pen in their Defence. They seem to inherit the absurd Stoicism of Lord Bute,[5] who set himself up as a Pillory, to be pelted by all the Blackguards of England, upon the supposition that they would grow tired and leave off. I don't find that your Ministers take any pains even to vindicate their moral Characters from the foulest Imputation; & I would never desire a stronger proof of a bad Heart, than a total Disregard of Reputation. A late Nobleman [7] who had been a member of several administrations, owned to me that one good Writer was of more Importance to the Government than twenty placemen in the House of Commons.

I don't know when I shall have an opportunity of transmitting the papers to Mr. Udney,[8] neither do I know in what part of Italy he resides. I should have

sent them by Dr. Armstrong to Rome, had I read your Letter before he set out: but as he stayed at Leghorne only to dine with me, I did not open your Pacquet till he was gone: However, I shall not fail to comply with your Directions as soon as possible. I am at present rusticated on the side of a Mountain that overlooks the sea, in the neighborhood of Leghorne, a most romantic & salutary Situation,[8] where I should be happy in receiving another such mark of your charity and good will; & if there is any thing in Tuscany that you desire, I beg you will without Ceremony put it in my power to oblige you. — Pray, who is *old Slyboots?* [10] is not *Junius* supposed to be Burke? [11] what is become of Mr^s^ Macaulay? [12] they say she has been obliged to retire; for what reason I know not. — Do pray throw away half an hour in giving me the political anecdotes of the Times, & direct a Mons^r^ Mons^r^ Smollett, chez Mons^r^ Renner [13] Negotiant a Livourne. In the mean Time wishing you every Comfort & Consolation that this rascally Age affords, I am with great affection & Esteem

Dear Sir

Your very humble Serv^t^

T^s^ Smollett

Monte-Nero [8]
May 18. 1770

Letter 71

TO ALEXANDER TELFER [1] OF SCOTSTON ESQ.

Dear Squire

I wrote you last week by the Post, in answer to yours, that transmitted the Commissary's [2] intimation concerning his propos'd improvements; and I give you this additional trouble, to introduce the bearer Mr C(ochrane) [3] to your acquaintance. He is a very worthy and accomplished young Surgeon who proposes (I think) to settle in your neighbourhood, and I can very safely recommend him to your good offices and Friendship. (He came to this Country with Sir David Murray [4] last summer, who died of a Consumption a few days after his arrival, so that) I have had sufficient time to be acquainted with (Mr Cochrane's) Character, which is really respectable. On Tuesday we were alarmed by an Earthquake [5] which visited us in repeated shocks, some of which were violent and terrible. Mr. C(ochrane) can inform you of the particulars, as they don't seem to have greatly disturbed his Intellect's whatever effects they may have produced on the People of Leghorne, great part of whom fled from the City; some to the country some on Board ships and vessels in the harbour and Canals. I could hardly keep my own family within Doors; but, for my own part, I

thought it was better to run some small risque of being smothered quietly in my own warm bed, than expose myself to certain Death from the Damps of a dark Winter night, while the cold was excessive. The bearer can also inform you of the circumstances of my health and manner of living (if you desire to know them) & being a dillettante in Musick will communicate his ideas on that subject to you & George Cowper.[6] I repeat my Compts to Mrs. Telfer,[7] to your Mother,[8] to Capt. James,[9] to Jeanny [10] & all friends; & am without flummery

Dear Laird
Yours always
Ts. Smollett

Leghorne *Jan*y. *9th. 1771*

Letter 72

(TO DR. JOHN HUNTER) [1]

With respect to myself, I have nothing to say, but that if I can prevail upon my wife to execute my last will, you shall receive my poor carcase in a box, after I am dead, to be placed among your rarities. I am already so dry and emaciated, that I may pass for an Egyptian mummy, without any other preparation

than some pitch and painted linen; [2] unless you think I may deserve the denomination of a curiosity in my own character, I mean that of

Your old friend,
and affectionate, humble servant

T^s^ Smollett

Leghorn,
January 9, 1771

Letter 73

(to ?) [1]

Dear Sir

I was favoured with yours last night, and take this first opportunity of answering it, as I am determined to be with you as soon as possible — we shall Set out from hence on monday morning, & lie at Pisa, & on Tuesday we propose to take pot Luck with you at Leghorn; so that we may proceed to the Giardino [2] in the Evening — meanwhile I must beg the favour of you to write M^r^ Favilla,[3] that I shall be at Lucca next monday, and that I shall have occasion for Twenty Zecchines,[4] as I should not care to be run to the last Paul.[5] He may then take my order upon you for the money, & I will pay him the amount of what he has laid out in our Behalf Since we left Leghorn you will therefore, desire him to have the acct ready to Settle.

The Baggage we shall Send to Leghorn by the Canal; & when we arrive we shall be able to judge what must be forwarded to the Giardino where I hope you will remember to make Some Provision of wine — we shall have the best part of a Barrel to our friend Domenicho [6] who has not yet received the printed Cotton but I suppose it will come to hand, this day or to-morrow.

Pray, remember us to Nanny & Kitty,[7] Capt St Barbe [8] & all friends & excuse this fresh Trouble from

Dear Sir

yours always

Tˢ Smollett

Lucca Baths [9]
Wednesday, Augᵗ 21

Letter 74

UNDATED FRAGMENT

Many a time do I stop my task and betake me to a game of romps with Betty,[1] while my wife looks on smiling and longing in her heart to join in the sport; then back to the cursed round of duty.

PART II

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

Following is an explanation of the abbreviations which, for convenience's sake, have commonly been used in the Notes.

Anderson: *Smollett's Miscellaneous Works* (London, 1820), edited by Robert Anderson, M.D.

Autobiography: The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle (Edinburgh, 1860), edited by John Hill Burton.

Chambers: *Smollett: His Life and a Selection from His Writings* (Edinburgh, 1867), by Robert Chambers.

D. N. B.: Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1885–1901). The article on Smollett, which is excellent, though brief, was written by Thomas Seccombe.

Hannay: *Life of Tobias Smollett* (London, *Great Writers Series*, 1887), by David Hannay.

Irving: *Some Account of the Family of Smollett of Bonhill* (Dumbarton, 1859; privately printed), by Joseph Irving.

Moore: *Smollett's Works* (London, 1797), edited by John Moore, M.D.

N. E. D.: A New English Dictionary (Oxford).

A complete list of books referred to follows the Notes.

NOTES

Letter 1, Page 3

To speculate on the authenticity of the MS. without having seen it would be futile. Smollett's talent is said to have manifested itself early in satiric verses directed against his relatives and schoolmates. See Anderson, i, 12. Possibly this letter was the result of reprisals on their part. But Seccombe, in his notice of Smollett in the *D. N. B.*, held that the future novelist was not sent to Glasgow until 1736. The only J. Armstrong with whom Smollett is known to have been friendly was Dr. John Armstrong (see Letter 43, Note 6), who took his M.D. at Edinburgh, not Glasgow, in 1732 and, according to the *D. N. B.*, was in London before 1735. "J. Armstrong" is not an uncommon name, but the facts mentioned above tend to cast doubt on the authenticity of the verses. Moreover, in no other case did Smollett use such a signature.

Letter 2, Page 3

This letter, hitherto unpublished, is now at Cameron, and its text appears here through the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett, its present owner.

Note 1. "The James Smollett thus addressed was Tobias' cousin, and head of the family. He died in 1738." For this note, and others in quotation marks regarding this letter, I am indebted to Major Telfer-Smollett; the notes were made by his father, whose intention of publishing the letters in his hands was never carried out.

Note 2. I have found nothing further concerning Mrs. M'Gregore.

Note 3. Nidderies Wynd is still in existence; it is one of the closes leading from the High Street in what is now the old part of Edinburgh. When the head of the Bonhill family stayed there, its condition was presumably better than its present one of decay.

Note 4. "The enclosure has unfortunately been lost."

Note 5. I find no further trace of Mr. Seton.

Note 6. "The brother alluded to was also a James Smollett. He eventually attained the rank of captain in the Army, and was lost in a transport off the coast of America, many years later." The chief importance of this letter is that it completely refutes the theory that the relationship between Tobias and his cousins was hostile. The basis of the theory was the persecution of the hero in *Roderick Random*, which is obviously in part an autobiographical novel, by his cousins. For statements of this belief see Hannay (1887), pp. 67, 68, and Max Leuschel's *Autobiographisches in Roderick Random* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 20. Neither Hannay nor Leuschel had seen this letter. It seems clear that Tobias would never have written in such a style about his obligations to his cousin, if he had ever thought himself the object of James Smollett's persecution.

Letter 3, Page 4

This letter was published in R. Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1835, iv, 271), with the statement "here for the first time committed to print." The letter was quoted, in part only, by Hannay, pp. 42, 43. I have not seen the MS.

Note 1. Of Barclay I can add only that he seems to have been one of Smollett's particularly good friends, for there are frequent references to him in later letters. See Letters 16, 34, etc.

Note 2. From the second paragraph of the letter, I judge the name of the "late friend" to have been Ritchie, but know no more about him.

Note 3. Mr. Gordon was the surgeon to whom Smollett had been apprenticed. It has been said that he was the original of Potion, in *Roderick Random*, but it is highly improbable that Smollett would so bitterly caricature a man in 1748 with whom, in 1744, he was corresponding on friendly terms. See also Matthew Bramble's letter of August 8, in *Humphry Clinker*, in which he mentions "Dr. John Gordon, a patriot of a truly Roman spirit."

Note 4. For a style remarkably similar to that in this paragraph, see Renaldo's lament for his (supposedly) lost Monimia, in Chapter 62 of *Ferdinand Count Fathom*. The tone and even the words are nearly identical.

Note 5. The references in this sentence are obscure. Hannay (p. 41) regards them as allusions to Smollett's marriage, the date of which has not been satisfactorily established. He must have met Miss Lascelles some time during 1741, when the expedition to Carthagena, with which he sailed, put in to Jamaica to refit. As she was supposed to be an heiress, it does not appear why Smollett's "prudentials" should be called in question, if this is really an allusion to his marriage. There is a possibility, however, that her fortune depended upon the good-will of her mother, of which Smollett, as Letter 9 will show, was not at all certain. If the mother had disowned her daughter for marrying against

her will, Smollett might have felt that he needed condolence rather than congratulation. In further support of the argument that this passage alludes to his marriage might be cited Smollett's own statement (Letter 60) that he married "very young": he was twenty-three when this letter was written. Anderson (i, 25) states that Smollett's marriage occurred in 1747. He gives no evidence, and as he also believed that Smollett did not return from Jamaica until 1746, which this letter disproves, his chronology is not wholly trustworthy.

Note 6. I have not identified "the late John Douglas."

Note 7. Downing Street, West, was then, as now, the place of the city residence of the Prime Minister. Sir Robert Walpole had his town house and offices there in the earlier years of the century. It was a fashionable spot, and Hannay raises the question of the source of the funds which Smollett must have had to set up housekeeping there. If, as Hannay believes (p. 41), Smollett was already married and had some of the Lascelles money at his disposal, the question is answered. Otherwise it is at present insoluble: Smollett could have had little money on his arrival in London in 1739; he had no known opportunity for increasing his resources while in the navy; and the first literary production which might have netted him something was not published until 1746. It is generally agreed that his medical practice was never flourishing.

Note 8. I have not been able to identify the persons mentioned in this postscript. Hannay has pointed out (p. 42) that it proves how soon Smollett began his career of host to his fellow countrymen in London.

Letter 4, Page 6

This fragment was published in *Autobiography*, and dated 1747 by the editor of that volume, John Hill Burton. I have not been able to complete the letter or discover the present location of the MS.

Note 1. Dr. Alexander Carlyle (1722–1805) was for fifty-seven years the faithful minister of a small parish at Inveresk. He was known (as "Jupiter" Carlyle) to many of the distinguished men of his day. He studied at Leyden with Charles Townshend and John Wilkes. With John Home and William Robertson he joined the Edinburgh Volunteers, formed to defend the city against Prince Charlie's attack. Adam Smith and David Hume, Adam Ferguson and John Blair, David Garrick and Benjamin Franklin were among his friends. He was in London and with Smollett on the night that news was brought of the battle of Culloden; he had been an eye-witness of Preston Pans, which was fought near his father's parish. From his altogether delightful autobiography come the clearest pictures we have of Smollett and his friends. There must have been a considerable correspondence between Carlyle and Smollett, but fragments alone have survived. Smollett twice visited at Inveresk, and the pleasure of both men in those visits is recorded in the *Autobiography* (pp. 264, 265) and in *Humphry Clinker* (see Matthew Bramble's letter of August 8).

Note 2. Oswald the musician deserved his sobriquet. According to Kidson (Groves's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1907) he was violinist, organist, dancing-master, and composer, first at Dunfermline, then at Edinburgh, and finally in London. An amusing set of verses in

the *Scots Magazine* for October, 1741, laments his departure for London. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1751, notes the publication of a collection of songs, "set to music by James Oswald." It is possible that he was in some way related to the Richard Oswald to whom Smollett wrote Letter 9 in this collection.

Note 3. Burton, the editor of Dr. Carlyle's *Autobiography*, states that the "poetical efforts cannot be traced home," and that the ballad of "Fanny Gairdner" was written by another friend of Carlyle's, Sir Gilbert Eliot. (See *Autobiography*, pp. 564, 565).

Letter 5, Page 7

This letter was printed in H. G. Graham's *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1901), pp. 301, 302. A footnote states that it is from an unpublished letter to Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, and gives the date. In the Preface Mr. Graham pays acknowledgments to "General Carlyle Bell" for the use of MSS belonging originally to Dr. Carlyle. I have not been able to discover the present location of the MSS.

Note 1. The "whole" refers to *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, advertised in the London *Evening Post* for January 19–21, 1748, as "this day publish'd." Smollett's pride in the rapidity of his composition is again shown in reference to his *History* (see Letter 60).

Note 2. The writer's emphatic disclaimer here seems sincere, and further confirms the evidence of Letter 2, that Roderick's ill-treatment at the hands of his cousins had no bearing on the relations between Tobias and his cousins of Bonhill. To determine how much of the novel is autobio-

graphical would require a much more detailed knowledge of the author's life than anyone at present possesses. It is not strange that later critics have taken the history of Roderick for that of Tobias, slightly altered, since this letter gives such convincing proof that the same error was made by contemporaries. I prefer to accept Smollett's own testimony, which is reiterated in Letter 60.

Note 3. Strap was drawn from John Lewis, the bookbinder. See Letter 29, for proof and further discussion of this point. According to Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, iii, 469), Lewis, who was a Chelsea neighbor of Smollett's, often sat at his Sunday dinners.

Letter 6, Page 8

The text of this letter is from a hitherto unpublished original in the possession of Oliver R. Barrett, Esq., of Chicago, Ill., to whose courtesy the copy is due.

Note 1. No address or superscription is found on the MS. As this is the first of a long series of letters dealing with financial difficulties, it may have been addressed to Dr. Macaulay (see Letter 13 and notes), his usual confidant and helper in such troubles.

Note 2. The other persons referred to in the letter are equally difficult to identify. Ironmongers' Hall, according to Baedeker, was erected in 1748, and is in Fenchurch Street, but Mr. Palmer and his connection with it are obscure. Mr. McLean appears again as Smollett's creditor in Letters 26 and 27. It is barely possible that this may have been Laughlin Macleane, a wealthy friend of John Wilkes, who also borrowed from him.*

* H. Bleackley, *Life of John Wilkes* (1917), p. 242.

The original of this unpublished letter is now in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. This text has been obtained through the kindness of the Director, Miss Belle da Costa Greene.

Note 1. William Strahan (1715–1785), well known as one of the most successful booksellers of his time, and a man of literary taste.

Note 2. Andrew Millar (1707–1768), equally eminent as a successful bookseller, if less regarded as a literary critic. He was at this time in close association with Strahan, who later succeeded to the business; and probably, as the letter implies, he sought Strahan's advice frequently. Dr. Johnson's praise of Millar's generosity is well known.* Smollett, however, seems not to have been so well satisfied; some years later, as Letter 35 will show, he felt aggrieved at Millar's actions. In the present letter he apparently wanted an advance payment from Millar and feared a refusal. The work he expected to use as a kind of collateral was presumably his translation of *Don Quixote*. This was not published until 1756, but Smollett admitted in a letter to Dr. Macaulay dated December, 1754 (Letter 20), that he had been paid for it five years before that date, and Millar's name headed the list of booksellers on the title-page of the first edition.

Note 3. The club that Smollett held over Millar's head to compel the advance payment — the "certain Measures" hinted at in the letter — and Millar's attitude on this occasion are probably reflected in the following passage from *Peregrine Pickle*, which must have been written not long

* Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, i, 287 n.

afterwards (published 1751). In the ninety-fourth chapter Peregrine attends a college of authors, who agree to humble their tyrants, the booksellers:

"For example," said one of the authors, "after I myself had acquired a little reputation with the town, I was caressed by one of those tyrants, who professed a friendship for me, and even supplied me with money, according to the exigencies of my situation, so that I looked upon him as the mirror of disinterested benevolence; and had he known my disposition, and treated me accordingly, I should have writ for him upon his own terms. After I had used his friendship in this manner for some time, I happened to have occasion for a small sum of money, and with great confidence made another application to my good friend: when all of a sudden he put a stop to his generosity, refused to accommodate me in the most abrupt and mortifying style; and though I was at that time pretty far advanced in a work for his benefit, which was a sufficient security for what I owed him, he roundly asked how I proposed to pay the money which I had already borrowed."

Thereupon the college unanimously votes:

"That he should make a new translation of some other saleable book, in opposition to a former version belonging to the delinquents, and print it in such a small size as would enable him to undersell their property."

Substitute, for "one of the authors," Tobias Smollett, who had acquired a little reputation with the town as a result of his satires and *Roderick Random;* for the "tyrant," Andrew Millar; and for the "work," *Don Quixote*. The resemblance in the situation is certainly striking.

Note 4. Mr. Tilfer, mentioned as a source of possible aid to be applied to as a last resort only, was probably Alex-

ander Telfer, Esq., of Scotston, Smollett's brother-in-law, and a gentleman of means. Letter 15 indicates that the "absolute necessity" occurred.

Letter 8, Page 10

The MS. of this letter is now at Cameron House. A copy, incomplete, was printed in Irving, p. 18. The text has been completed through the courtesy of Major Telfer-Smollett.

Note 1. Dr. John Moore (1728–1802), to whom fourteen of these letters were written, was a friend and biographer of Smollett. Their careers present striking similarities and differences. As Dr. Moore's vogue has long passed, it is perhaps permissible to state at some length his connections with his correspondent. Like Smollett, he was apprenticed to Dr. John Gordon and studied at Glasgow University, though at a somewhat later period. Moore served in Flanders with the Coldstream Guards; Smollett, in the navy. Both travelled extensively, and both wrote exceedingly readable accounts of their travels. Both were novelists, and Dr. Moore's first and best fiction, *Zeluco* (1786), depicting the rise and fall of a thorough villain, resembles, in plot, at least, Smollett's *Count Fathom*. Both were social in their tastes, though Moore's range of friendships was probably more extensive. Both were far better known for their literary than for their medical attainments, and the lives of both were chronicled by the same Dr. Robert Anderson.

But such resemblances were only superficial. As a result of his attendance on the family of the Duke of Hamilton, who died in 1769, Moore was put in charge of the young heir, and in 1772 withdrew from practice to make the grand tour with his pupil. He spent five years abroad, seeing all

that was to be seen, and apparently kept the affection of the young duke. He settled in London, devoting his time about equally to medicine and writing, but returned to Paris in 1792, where he was an eye-witness of the exciting events of that summer and autumn, which he duly chronicled. Incidentally, Carlyle, in his *French Revolution*, made use of Dr. Moore's account (volume iii, book 1, chapter 4, and *passim*). Born eight years after Smollett, he outlived his friend by more than thirty years, witty, healthy, and prosperous. In sharp contrast to the melancholy state of Smollett after the premature death of his only daughter, Moore was survived by five fine sons, one of whom was an admiral of the fleet, and another the famous Sir John Moore of Corunna.

In 1796 a London edition of Smollett's works was issued, under Moore's editorship, with a prefatory memoir by him. Unfortunately for posterity, he did not avail himself of the unparallelled opportunity to collect information. His *Life of Smollett* has some slight value as being written by a personal friend, but is scanty, vague, and in places incorrect.

Note 2. In 1750, just before this letter was written, Smollett and Moore had been fellow travellers in France. One of their acquaintances there was David Hunter of Burnside. Chapter 36 of *Peregrine Pickle* describes the Scottish and English Jacobite gentlemen, exiled for their part in the '45, mournfully pacing the French shore near Boulogne, whence they could see the white cliffs of their native land.

"Mr. Hunter of Burnside was the individual among them who is mentioned as having wept bitterly over the misfortune of having involved a beloved wife and three children in misery and distress; and, in the impatience of his grief, having cursed his own fate with frantic impreca-

tions. I myself heard Mr. Hunter express himself in this manner to Dr. Smollett."

So Dr. Moore wrote in his *Life of Smollett* (i, cxxv). But it is typical of the biography that he never mentioned this letter and its contents — Smollett's later efforts in behalf of the exile he had used as material for his novel. The only notices of Hunter now discoverable refer to his career up to the time of his exile.* Whether or not Smollett was successful in his attempt to repatriate Hunter, the attempt itself, only four years after the battle of Culloden, proves Smollett's own courage, and that the sympathy with which he portrayed the exiles, in his novel, was not fictitious.

Note 3. The Duke of Dorset, Lionel Cranfield Sackville (1693–1768), was at this time Lord President of the Council.

Note 4. Frances Anne, Lady Vane, *née* Hawes (1713–1788), was the notorious "Lady of Quality" whose "Memoirs" were to appear in *Peregrine Pickle* within a few months after this letter was written (February, 1751). Her amazing career is therein described with quite sufficient detail. She is reputed to have altered completely, and to have spent the last twenty years of her life reading philosophy — after she had become bedridden as a result of illness! In 1750 Smollett must have seen her often in the preparation of the novel, which was probably the "fatiguing employment" spoken of in this letter, and she, no doubt, was willing to further his efforts in Hunter's behalf by her undeniably wide acquaintance among influential persons. The Lord Vane mentioned in the letter must have been her husband, William, second Viscount Vane (1714–1789), who

* Scottish History Society, *A List of the Persons Concerned in the Rebellion* (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 218, 219. R. Chambers, *History of the Rebellion of 1745–46*, pp. 323, 482.

might not have been so willing to assist his wife in this matter after the publication of *Peregrine*.

Note 5. Lord Vane's cousin was Thomas Pelham-Holles, first Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768), holder of innumerable offices, among them, at this time, that of Secretary of State for the Northern Department. Such an affair as that of Hunter's repatriation would naturally fall within his province. His connections, his ability in intrigue, and his rent-roll of twenty-five thousand pounds a year made him perhaps the most powerful courtier in England.

Letter 9, Page 11

This unpublished MS. is now in the possession of Haverford College, Haverford, Penn. The text is from a photostat sent through the courtesy of Professor R. W. Kelsey, of the Department of History.

Note 1. Richard Oswald (1705–1784), originally a Scot from the vicinity of Glasgow, made a fortune in trade there and in London, married a Miss Ramsay of Jamaica (where he may have met Smollett), was later contractor of supplies for the British Army, and finally chief Commissioner for the peace negotiations at Versailles, after the American Revolution. His secretary at that time was Caleb Whitefoord, another friend of Smollett's (see Letter 70).

Note 2. Mrs. Leaver, the lady from whom — without her knowledge — Smollett proposed to borrow, must have been his mother-in-law: she must have married a second time, since Smollett's wife was named Lascelles. What right the novelist may have had to concoct such a financial scheme cannot be known without an understanding of the marriage contract. His feeling toward his mother-in-law is

clearly enough indicated. This part of the letter does not prove that Smollett had been married "four or five years" prior to 1752, but merely that he had been at the expense of housekeeping for that period of time.

Note 2. Robert Bontein, or Buntine, was an intimate friend of Smollett's, as well as, for some time, the overseer or person in charge of the Leaver-Lascelles property in Jamaica. His name was originally Graham, but inheriting the estate of Ardoch, he changed to Bontein. On the death of his older brother he changed back again to Graham, on succeeding to the estate of Gartmore. He was at one time Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, and M.P. for the county of Stirling. Irving's *Book of Eminent Scotsmen* gives 1750 and 1797 as the dates of his birth and death, but this seems obviously an error. See Anderson (i, 103 n.)

Since this note was first written there has been published an interesting book by R. B. Cunninghame Graham entitled *Doughty Deeds* (1925), which is a biography of Graham of Gartmore. His dates are therein given as 1735–1797. A letter from him to Smollett, dated August, 1771, is printed (pp. 85, 86), which proves him to have been the agent for the Lascelles property. I have a letter from Mr. Cunninghame Graham stating that none of Smollett's letters to his ancestor (of which there must have been many) has been discovered.

Note 3. This name is obscure in the MS. No one by the name of Macullo has been found among Smollett's friends. This may be his spelling of McCullough: there was a doctor of that name among his acquaintances, but little can be learned about him. See Letter 26, Note 3.

Note 4. Mrs. Leaver's "Grandchild," Elizabeth Smollett, was at this time four years old.

Letter 10, Page 14

These notes were originally printed in the *European Magazine* for March, 1784, and reprinted by Anderson in the successive editions of his *Smollett's Works* (1820, i, 32).

Note 1. Daniel Mackercher was alluded to in Smollett's *Reproof: A Satire* (1747) as "the melting Scot." A footnote was added to make the allusion clear:

"Ver. 122. Daniel Mackercher, Esq. a man of such primitive simplicity that he may be said to have exceeded the scripture injunction, by not only parting with his cloak and coat, but with his shirt also, to relieve a brother in distress: Mr. Annesley, who claimed the Anglesea title and estate."

A more detailed account of Mackercher's life and his connection with the famous lawsuit is to be found in *Peregrine Pickle*, Chapter 98, where Peregrine, in prison, meets Mackercher, also in prison for debt. As this may show how Smollett came into contact with him, it is here condensed.

"He gave up all his commercial schemes . . . with a view of sitting down for the rest of his life, contented with what he had got. . . .This was a very prudential resolution, could he have kept it; but, upon the breaking out of the war, he could not without concern see many gentlemen of merit, who had been recommended to him, disappointed of commissions, merely for want of money to satisfy the expectations of the commission-brokers of that time; and therefor launched out considerable sums for them on their bare notes, great part whereof was lost by the death of some in the unfortunate expedition to the West Indies."

It is more than probable that one of the gentlemen of merit, who might have been disappointed of a commission but for Mackercher's assistance, was Tobias Smollett. A

debt so incurred would be one of the "former occasions and incumbrances" of which he wrote to Oswald in Letter 9. And it would explain Smollett's particular interest in Mackercher's career. How the two men met may be suggested in another passage from the same chapter (*Peregrine Pickle*, Chapter 98):

"In this emergency, he [that is, Mackercher] thought he could not employ his idle time more profitably than in translating, from foreign languages, such books as were then chiefly in vogue; and upon application to a friend, who was a man of letters, he was furnished with as much business of that kind as he could possibly manage, and wrote some pamphlets on the reigning controversies of that time, that had the good fortune to please. He was also concerned in a monthly journal of literature, and the work was carried on by the two friends jointly, though M—— did not at all appear in the partnership."

If the narrative kept the strict chronological order, it would be impossible to suggest that Smollett was the man of letters mentioned, as this period in Mackercher's life is told as if coming before the year 1740, up to which time Smollett could have had no literary occupation in London. But if, as usual, Smollett did not hesitate to disguise, in the novel, the facts of what was essentially a true story, the case is altered, and it is at least possible that he and Mackercher were concerned in some joint literary scheme.

Young Annesley, whose claims to the Anglesea title Mackercher backed with disastrous results to his own fortunes, first announced his claim while serving as a common sailor in Admiral Vernon's fleet on the Carthagena expedition. Smollett, as surgeon's mate on the same expedition, could not help hearing about the case, and found in it an-

other bond with Mackercher. Nearly every reader of *Peregrine Pickle* has felt the long chapter (98) devoted to "M——" and the "A——" case as a capital defect in the structure of the narrative. It has even less pretense to any connection with the main story than the "Memoirs of a Lady of Quality." Its presence can now be explained, if not defended, as a bit of friendly propaganda.

The following quotation from John Taylor's *Records of My Life* (ii, 409) illustrates another important connection between Mackercher and Smollett:

"Dennis M'Kerchier, Esq. an Irish gentleman of fortune who lived with Lady Vane, was said to have written her memoirs, as they appear in *Peregrine Pickle;* and Dr. Hill was employed by Lord Vane to write the history of 'Lady Frail,' to counteract the impression on the public. The infidelity of the lady had induced M'Kerchier to separate from her. When he was near death, she anxiously desired to see him, but he would not suffer her to approach. Mr. M'Kerchier is introduced in *Peregrine Pickle* as the gentleman who so generously protected the young man in the famous Anglesea case, who was so cruelly persecuted by Lord Valentia, his uncle."

This is gossip: the statement as to the composition of the "Memoirs" may well be doubted. But the real gossip, the connection between Lady Vane and Mackercher, may well enough be true. And thus the real connection between the notorious Lady and Smollett may be reconstructed: Smollet becoming acquainted with Mackercher because both were Scots, both interested in literary work, possibly through Mackercher's loan of money for Smollett's commission; Mackercher introducing his friend to Lady Vane as a rising young novelist; and that lady, eager to publish

her story to an equally eager world, seizing the opportunity of such a vehicle as *Peregrine Pickle*. A full discussion of the relationships among Mackercher, Lady Vane, and Smollett, which supports, in general, the inferences here drawn briefly, will be found in Dr. H. S. Buck's *A Study in Smollett* (Yale University Press, 1925), Chapter 2, pp. 20–52.

Note 2. The letter to Hume Campbell follows — Letter 11.

Note 3. According to Dr. Anderson, the "trifle inclosed" was a small sum of money.* As Letter 13 and several later letters indicate Smollett's own finances to have been at this time in a most precarious state, this act is significant of his generosity.

Letter 11, Page 15

This letter was first printed in the *European Magazine* for March, 1784, from MS. then in the possession of Isaac Reed, the editor. The MS. was inserted by Reed in a copy of Smollett's translation of *Don Quixote*, sold at auction in 1807. Its present location is unknown. (See Anderson, i, 43 n.)

Note 1. Alexander Hume Campbell (d. 1760), brother of the Earl of Marchmont, some time M. P. for Berwickshire and Lord-Register of Scotland. Various references show him as an able, but often abusive, lawyer.†

Note 2. About Peter Gordon nothing is known beyond the information given in the letter: that he was an impecunious Scot, whom Smollett had befriended to the extent

* Anderson, i, 32 n.; Hannay, p. 124.

† See *Autobiography*, p. 263; Walpole, *Letters to Mann* (N. Y. 1833), ii, 327; *Marchmont and the Humes of Polwarth* (Edinburgh, 1894), *passim*.

of signing his notes; that he had refused to pay, had taken refuge "in the verge of the Court," and had written an insulting letter to his benefactor; that Smollett thereupon, accompanied by a witness, had called him out of his lodgings and thrashed him; and that Gordon had then brought suit for assault with intent to murder. How he managed to retain as his lawyer a man of Hume Campbell's standing is a mystery. The charge of intent to murder was dismissed, but Smollett had, apparently, to pay the costs of the suit, as a penalty for taking the law into his own hands. See Letter 13.

Note 3. The names of Smollett's witnesses are not known.

Note 4. Smollett never brought suit for perjury against these unknown false witnesses of Gordon's.

Note 5. In Chapters 36, 37, and 38 of *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, the hero is bled by fraudulent attorneys. It is difficult to suppose that this description was the true cause of Hume Campbell's rancor in conducting the case. It is more probable that his language was no more violent than usual, but that Smollett, naturally choleric, was infuriated by it.

Note 6. The letter was probably never sent to Hume Campbell, no doubt by Mackercher's advice (see the previous letter), and certainly never published until after Smollett's death.

Letter 12, Page 23

The original of this document is now in the possession of W. G. Legg, Esq., of Rothley, near Leicester, England, who has sent this copy. It has not been published.

Note 1. Robert Dodsley (1703–1764), a well-known figure in London literary circles. Footman, poet, dramatist, and bookseller, he was a friend of Alexander Pope and of Samuel Johnson, whose *London* he issued in 1738, and to whom he suggested the scheme for a Dictionary.

Note 2. James Rivington (1724–1803) was the sixth son of Charles, the founder of the famous publishing house of Rivington. He later was the publisher of Smollett's *History of England*, by which he is said to have made ten thousand pounds. After losing most of his money in racing, he emigrated to America, and started book stores in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston (1760–1762). He was later made King's Printer for New York, but suffered losses during the Revolutionary War and died in comparative poverty.*

Note 3. For William Strahan, see Letter 7 and note.

Note 4. Smollett's part in this work was largely editorial; his only original composition, probably, was an account of the Expedition to Carthagena. That he disliked extremely this sort of hack-work can be shown by part of the criticism of Rolt's *History of South America*, which he wrote for the *Critical Review* of March, 1756, in which he complains of the unfavorable terms and conditions imposed on the author who writes for the booksellers. His being a party to an agreement such as this memorandum indicates how sorely he was pressed for money.

Note 5. The *Collection of Voyages* did not actually issue from the press until April, 1756.

* See *D. N. B.*; also S. Rivington, *The Publishing Family of Rivington*, 1919, *passim*, and Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, ii, 400.

Letter 13, Page 24

This letter was first printed in the *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* for May, 1804. The MS. came into Dr. Anderson's possession, and was reprinted in his *Smollett's Miscellaneous Works* (1820, i, 163), but has since disappeared.

Note 1. Dr. George Macaulay (1716–1766) was so overshadowed in the minds of his contemporaries by his wife, the historian, that little is known about him. He was a Scot, he graduated in medicine at Padua in 1739, he settled in London in 1752, and became physician and treasurer to the Brownlow Lying-In Hospital: these are the bare facts vouchsafed by the *D. N. B.* (art. Catherine Macaulay). One suspects that he must have been a man of some means and considerable generosity, for Smollett seems to have applied to him consistently for aid during this period of special financial stress. At least eight of the letters which have been preserved were addressed to Dr. Macaulay, and all have some reference to money troubles on the part of the novelist.

Note 2. George Drummond (1687–1766) was six times Lord Provost of Edinburgh, a prominent Hanoverian in the '45, a Grand Master in the Masonic order, and a highly respected and influential citizen. Smollett may have met him through Dr. Carlyle or John Home (see *Autobiography*, *passim*), or through William Strahan, who published the book referred to in the following note. It is possible that Smollett was a Mason (see Letter 62 and notes), and his membership in that order would provide another means of acquaintance with Drummond.

Note 3. Provost Drummond's brother was Alexander Drummond (d. 1769), who was a traveller in the Near East,

and later British Consul at Aleppo (1754–1756). His book, which Strahan published in 1754, was entitled *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates, in a series of letters*. If Smollett received a hundred guineas for seeing this work through the press, it is likely that he did a good deal of revision. The style of the earlier letters is decidedly reminiscent of Smollett, although the opinions of various works of art in Italian galleries are certainly not his, unless he had changed considerably by the time of his own *Travels*. It is probable that Smollett's experience with this book stood him in good stead when he came to prepare his own: he chose the same narrative form, by means of letters, and what was more unusual, followed Drummond's lead in appending a careful list of temperatures. Alexander Drummond's *Travels*, thus revised, was favorably criticised in the *Monthly Review* (Sept., 1754), xi, 198 ff., but designated as a "very foolish vulgar book of travels" by Horace Walpole.*

Note 4. "that scoundrel Groom" evidently refers to Peter Gordon (see Letter 11 and notes).

Note 5. The bankrupt by whose failure Smollett lost one hundred and eighty pounds has not been identified.

Note 6. "our Jamaica agent" was the Mr. Bontein mentioned later in the letter, also in Letter 9 and elsewhere. The cause of his want of punctuality is unknown. The delay must have been extremely harassing at just this time, as witness the "unconscionable premium" given by Smollett for cash on Drummond's note.

* Walpole, *Letters to Mann* (N. Y. 1833), ii, 231.

This unpublished note is in the possession of R. B. Adam, Esq., of Buffalo, N. Y., through whose kindness and that of Professor Tinker I have obtained a copy.

Note 1. Beyond the fact that David Wilson was a publisher in the Strand, London, with whom Smollett's relations must have been more or less close, since *Peregrine Pickle* issued from his press, I can find nothing. I suppose Letter 35 to have been written to Wilson, but as the second edition of *Peregrine*, which it concerns, was apparently published by a syndicate, the letter may have been addressed to one of the other members (R. Baldwin, J. Richardson, and T. Durham).

Note 2. Thomas Durham, another publisher and bookseller, may have been in partnership with Wilson: he was at least a member of the syndicate mentioned in the note preceding. Neither of these men is mentioned by Knight, Timperley, or the other writers on the booksellers of the eighteenth century, although their names are familiar to those who have scanned the lists of publications in the magazines of the period.

Note 3. See Letter 7 for references to Strahan.

Note 4. Dr. John Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie and His Contemporaries* (Glasgow, 1894) contains (pp. 107–119) an account of the probable assistance rendered by Smollett in the composition and preparation for the press of the important books on midwifery which issued under Smellie's name. Dr. Smellie (1697–1763) was a friend of Smollett's teacher, Dr. Gordon (see Letter 3); at about this time one of the famous Drs. Hunter (see Letter 56) was living with him, and Smollett's life-long friend Moore was a pupil (*D. N. B.*). See Letter 16.

Letter 15, Page 27

The original of this unpublished letter is in the collection at Cameron. The copy given by the courtesy of Major Telfer-Smollett is incomplete: he has promised to supply the missing parts, but has so far been unable to do so.

Note 1. Alexander Telfer (no doubt the Mr. Tilfer of Letter 7) was the husband of the novelist's sister Jean, and a man of some means. As the address indicates, he was at this time living on his estate of Symington, in Lanarkshire. Some time later he purchased the estate of Scotston, in Peeblesshire, where he lived until his death in 1760. He was survived by his widow and four children. In 1774, after the death of James Smollett of Bonhill, Mrs. Telfer succeeded to that estate, for which it was necessary for her to resume her maiden name. Cameron is still in the possession of the descendants of Alexander and Jean Telfer.

Note 2. The MS. is here deficient.

Note 3. The obscurity of the letter is extreme; and results, in part from Smollett's unwillingness to mention names, in part from the incompleteness of the copy, and in part from the involved transactions of which it is a partial record. At least so much is clear: that Smollett was in serious straits — Letter 7 indicated that he would apply to Mr Telfer only as a last resort — and that his appeal for assistance had been favorably answered by his brother-in-law.

Letter 16, Page 28

This letter was published, in part, in Irving, p. 18; a facsimile of the last part of the MS. was also published in W. Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie and His Contemporaries* (Glasgow, 1894), p. 118. The original is now at Cameron.

Note 1. Mr. Urie was a printer in Glasgow, with a shop in the Gallowgate. Hence his interest in forthcoming publications of Smollett's. Little is known of him except that his name was Robert, that he was a worthy predecessor of the brothers Foulis,* and that he seems to have been a good friend of Smollett's, judging from other references in these Letters.

Note 2. The "paltry bookseller's job" was published in February, 1754, under the title *Select Essays on Commerce, Agriculture, Mines, Fisheries, and other Useful Subjects.* There were thirty-six essays altogether, all on economic subjects, evidently not to Smollett's taste. The volume was reviewed, not very favorably, in the *Monthly Review* for March, 1754. It was, however, reprinted in 1778 by Robert Bell, of Philadelphia, with the following prefatory note: "Several of the following Essays are translated from a Periodical Work, published at Paris, under the title of *Journal Œconomique*; the Translation being undertaken By Doctor Tobias Smollett, an Author of great Reputation, at the desire of the late Archibald Campbell, Duke of Argyle, and several other Persons of Taste and Distinction, who thought it might conduce to the Improvement of Useful Knowledge."

It is not unlikely that such uncongenial tasks as this translation contributed largely to the amazing fund of general knowledge which Smollett had.

Note 3. See Letter 14, note 4. The third volume was not published until after its author's death (1764), and that

* See *Notices and Documents, illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow,* ed. W. J. Duncan (Glasgow, 1886), p. 5; D. Murray, *Robert and Andrew Foulis* (Glasgow, 1913), *passim;* Anderson, 91 n.

Smollett had a good deal to do with its appearance is probable from the very favorable notice it received in the *Critical Review* for December, 1764. Dr. Moore, to whom this Letter (17) was written, had been a pupil of Smellie's, and would naturally be interested in Smollett's collaboration.

Note 4. *Don Quixote* was published in 1755. See Letter 20.

Note 5. No "History of the German Empire" is listed in the magazines as appearing from 1754 to 1756. It is possible that Smollett here referred to a section of the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, which he wrote, but which did not come out until 1762.

Note 6. For Drummond's *Letters*, see Letter 13.

Note 7. No trace has been found of Dr. Deck: the MS. is blurred, and the name may be incorrectly copied.

Note 8. Dr. Thomas Hamilton (d. 1782) was at one time Professor of Anatomy at the University of Glasgow, and later Dr. Moore's partner in the practice of surgery.*

Note 9. Dr. Moore's partner was at this time his former instructor — and Smollett's also — Dr. John Gordon.†

Note 10. See Letter 3 and notes: this is presumably the same Barclay.

Note 11. Hugh Blackburn, merchant, is listed among the members of the Hodge-Podge Club of Glasgow at this time. The club met regularly for convivial and literary purposes, and Dr. Moore was one of its leading spirits. He

* R. Anderson, *Works of John Moore, M.D.* (1820), i, viii; *D. N. B.*, art. William Hamilton (1758–1790).

† R. Anderson, *Works of John Moore, M.D.* (1820), i, vii.

composed a bit of doggerel which was inscribed on the club snuff-box:

Simson the pastor turned my frame
With his own holy hands
Simson the merchant bound the same
In these fair silver bands
But, what delights me more than all,
Great Hugo did me dub
To be the Snuff-box General
Unto the Hodge-Podge Club.*

The "Great Hugo" in this rhyme is said to be Hugh Blackburn, and is probably the man to whom Smollett wished to be remembered. Simson the pastor, incidentally, was Dr. Moore's father-in-law.

Letter 17, Page 29

This fragment was printed in H. G. Graham's *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1901), p. 307. A footnote states that it is from an unpublished letter to Dr. Carlyle, and gives the date. I have not discovered the present location of the MS.

Note 1. According to the sketch in which this fragment was published, this splenetic outburst against his adopted country was made by Smollett at "Don Saltero's" famous resort in Chelsea. Its cause is not difficult for the reader of the letters of this period to discover: the constant financial pressure which forced Smollett to engage in hack-writing while he felt acutely conscious of his ability to do better things than, for example, *A Compendium of Voyages*.

* J. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* (1856), pp. 52, 63.

Letter 18, Page 30

The original of this hitherto unpublished letter is in the collection at Cameron, and the text is here given through the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett.

Note 1. It is not easy to identify a "Mr. Smith," even with the additional information that he was a worthy friend of Tobias Smollett and a tutor to Lord Garlies. Dr. Carlyle frequently alludes to a Robert Smith, who in 1746 introduced him to Smollett, and with whom they were intimate. This man had previously acted as tutor to the Laird of M'Leod, and "he had been ill rewarded, and was on his shifts in London. He was a man of superior understanding, and of a most gentlemanly address. With Smollett he was very intimate. We . . . frequently resorted to a small tavern in the corner of Cockspur Street at the Golden Ball, where we had a frugal supper and a little punch, as the finances of none of the company were in very good order. But we had rich enough conversation on literary subjects, which was enlivened by Smollett's agreeable stories, which he told with peculiar grace." *

Note 2. John Stewart (1735/6–1805), later seventh Earl of Galloway, was styled Lord Garlies from 1746 to 1773, according to Cokayne's *Peerage*. He evidently profited by Smith's instruction, for he is mentioned in the list of members of the famous Select Society of Edinburgh in 1759.†

Note 3. Barclay was mentioned in the preceding letter. See also Letter 3 and note.

* *Autobiography*, p. 189. Other references to this Robert Smith, p. 186 and note.

† Dugald Stewart, *Memoirs of Smith, Robertson and Reid* (Edinburgh, 1811), p. 323.

Note 4. Blackburn was likewise mentioned in the preceding letter.

Note 5. The word "Prig" applied in Smollett's time to narrow-minded, illiberal folk. Thus Dr. Carlyle divided the lower order of clergy, in general, into two classes, "bucks" and "prigs." The former class, he thought, was the more tolerable, since its members had no affectation other than that of living like gentlemen.

"The prigs are truly not to be endured, for they are but half-learned, are ignorant of the world, narrow-minded, pedantic, and over-bearing." *

It is impossible to identify any individuals at Glasgow to whom Smollett referred by such an epithet, nor is it easy to surmise what Smith had done to make himself their target. Smollett's warmth of friendship is sufficiently indicated by the tone of his letter.

Letter 19, Page 31

The original of this letter is now in the possession of W. G. Legg, Esq., of Rothley, near Leicester, England. The letter was printed in Anderson, i, 164.

Note 1. Letter 13 contained an appeal for Dr. Macaulay's financial assistance. This was in May, 1753. From the opening sentences of Letter 19 it appears that Macaulay was seeking repayment.

Note 2. Letter 26 contains a reference to some persons named Harvie, about whom nothing further is known than that they owed Smollett money, and that they lived in the East Indies.

* *Autobiography*, p. 441.

Note 3. Smollett had evidently applied to his brother-in-law for help. See the following letter (20).

Letter 20, Page 32

This letter was first published in the *Scots Magazine* for May, 1804. The MS. was then "in the possession of a gentleman of Edinburgh"; it was later acquired by Dr. Anderson, who reprinted the letter in his edition of *Smollett's Miscellaneous Works* (1820), i, 164 f. What has become of the MS. is not known.

Note 1. This is another of the many references to the long-delayed remittance from Mrs. Smollett's estate in Jamaica. See Letter 13, Note 6.

Note 2. Mr. Telfer was Smollett's brother-in-law, to whom he had again applied for assistance. See Letter 15.

Note 3. See Letter 7, Note 2.

Note 4. No evidence is at hand to show that Smollett actually did insure his life as a means of raising money.

Note 5. This postscript was evidently written the day after the letter had been composed and dated, for the robbery which it mentions is confirmed by the following item from the *Public Advertiser* for Saturday, December 14, 1754: "On Wednesday evening, between Five and Six, the Passengers in the Chelsea Stage were robbed near the Water-works going to Chelsea, by two Foot-pads in Sailors Habits."

Letter 21, Page 33

The original MS. is now in the collection at Cameron. The letter was printed by Irving, p. 18. The text here given follows the MS., thanks to the courtesy of Major Telfer-Smollett.

Note 1. As the second paragraph of the letter indicates, Moore was a candidate for a professorship, presumably for that of Surgery or Anatomy, in the University of Glasgow. The fact is not mentioned by Dr. Anderson, Moore's biographer: the inference being that his candidacy was unsuccessful.

Note 2. A year's interval occurs between this and the preceding letter. As that was an urgent appeal for aid from Macaulay, and as, in the interval, Smollett had made a journey to Scotland, he must have succeeded in negotiating a loan. His long-overdue remittance may have come from Jamaica, but as he still expects one in 1756 (see Letter 23), this solution is improbable. The most plausible suggestion is that his brother-in-law had again come to his rescue. On the trip Smollett must have seen Moore, and it is a reasonable inference that Moore's belief that Smollett was an influential person in the metropolis sprang from Smollett's own conversation. It would be very tempting, and very easy, for Smollett, without misstating facts, to leave an impression with his provincial friends that he was, so to speak, behind the scenes. The fact that his recent translations from the *Journal Œconomique* had been published under the auspices of the Duke of Argyle might have justified Moore in supposing that Smollett had interest with that nobleman. The Duke (Archibald Campbell, third Duke, 1682–1761) was by all odds the most powerful person

in Scotland, as the letter states, and numerous contemporary evidences confirm. Dr. Carlyle gives an interesting sketch of the great man at about this period, in his *Autobiography* (pp. 327 ff.).

Note 3. The individuals referred to as the "set of honest phlegmatic Englishmen" whose society Smollett was at this time cultivating are not easy to identify. One was undoubtedly the Captain Robert Mann whom he introduces to Moore in a later letter (30), though he was of Scottish birth. In Letter 62 he was writing to Dr. Reid, and sent messages to friends named Wilton, Halford, and Russell, "and all our Brotherhood at the Swan," which sounds as if an informal club of Chelsea residents had been formed: this would probably include his "set."

Note 4. Although the Latin obviously means "all things are full, not of divine will, but of Campbells," and alludes directly to the context, the quotation which Smollett thus parodied has not been identified.

Letter 22, Page 35

A facsimile of this letter, the original MS. of which is now at Cameron, was printed in Irving, facing the first page.

Note 1. A grandfather, an uncle, a brother, and two cousins of the novelist all bore the name James Smollett, a fact sufficiently confusing to genealogists of the family. The James to whom Letter 2 was written died in 1738; the James to whom the present letter was addressed was a cousin, both of Tobias and of the earlier James, whom he succeeded in the estate. The James of Letter 22 was a Commissary of Edinburgh, a Sheriff-Depute of Dumbarton-

shire, and a worthy bearer of his four-hundred-years-old name. In 1763 he purchased Cameron, a fine house on the shore of Loch Lomond, still in the possession of the family. Here Tobias visited him in 1766, and later described, in the two letters in *Humphry Clinker* dated from that house, its situation with a warmth of enthusiasm which the place still merits. In 1773 the same James entertained Dr. Johnson and Boswell on their return from the famous tour of the western isles. Boswell considered James Smollett as "a man of considerable learning, with abundance of animal spirits; so that he was a very good companion for Dr. Johnson," and added that the lexicographer said of Cameron. "We have had more solid talk here than at any place where we have been." * And during this visit Samuel Johnson revised the inscription for the monument to Tobias Smollett which James caused to be erected — past which, in its dilapidated state, the trams now rumble on their way from Glasgow to Balloch.

Note 2. Cousin Theophilus and his unusual experience remain a mystery.

Note 3. Mrs. Bethune was an aunt both of the writer and of the recipient of this letter; her maiden name was Jean Smollett, according to Irving's genealogy.

Note 4. The *D. N. B.* has an article on this William Malet, which states that he died in the campaign against Hereward the Wake, in 1071.

Note 5. The origin of the name Smollett seems doubtful. S. Baring-Gould (*Family Names and Their Story* [1910], p. 58) derives it from some diminutive of Samuel. H. Harrison, on the other hand (*Surnames of the United Kingdom*

* J. Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785), pp. 458 f.

[1918], ii, 470), makes it a derivative from Small Head — OE. *smæl heafod*. If this be true, it was a curious coincidence that when an anonymous satirist dubbed Tobias, Sawney MacSmallhead, he unwittingly selected the ancient name of the family. (See Letter 24, Note 3).

Note 6. Joseph Irving traced, through parish records, the residence of the Smollett family in Dumbartonshire as far back as 1512.

Note 7. The whole Vale of Leven district has been altered so much since Smollett's day that identification of the localities he mentions is nearly impossible. Extensive shipbuilding yards line the banks of the Clyde, and the Leven itself is now the source of power for dye factories.

Note 8. George Buchanan (1506–1582), famous Scottish scholar, poet, and historian, James I's tutor, was born in Stirlingshire, in the vicinity of the Leven district.

Note 9. As Smollett's *History of England* appeared in 1757, it was doubtless in preparation of this work that he had been inquiring into "the antiquities of our country." In his compilation, *The Present State of All Nations* (1768), his remarks (ii, 94–98) on the ancient history and original name of Dumbarton are merely an expansion of the material in this letter. His conclusions regarding the kingdom of Arecluyd seem essentially in agreement with those of later historians.

Letter 23, Page 37

This letter was first printed by Anderson (1820 edition, i, 166) with the statement that the original was in his possession at that time. The MS. has disappeared.

Note 1. Although Smollett must have received financial aid from some source for his travels in Scotland in 1755, this letter indicates that his troubles were by no means over. It also proves how close he came to experiencing that imprisonment for debt which played such an important part in the careers of three of his heroes: Roderick, Peregrine, and Count Fathom.

Note 2. For James Rivington, see Letter 12, Note 2.

Note 3. Reference has already been made (Letter 12, Note 4) to Smollett's bitter complaint of the predicament of the historian who had fallen into the hands of the booksellers. This article appeared in the *Critical* for March, 1756. It is at least a possible conjecture that it had, or was intended to have, some effect on the terms offered by Rivington to Smollett.

Note 4. From the East Indies Smollett apparently expected remittances from some persons named Harvie, according to references in Letters 19 and 26. From the West Indies the sum would come from his wife's estates in Jamaica.

Letter 24, Page 38

This letter was printed, in part, in Irving, p. 19. The original is now at Cameron, and the text here given has been completed through the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett. Parentheses enclose new material.

Note 1. Dr. Moore's friend who had the unfortunate experience of being denied admission to Smollett's house was probably one J. Dougall, of Easter House, near Glasgow. All that I have been able to discover about him is that he was listed as a member of the Hodge-Podge Club, and

characterized by Dr. Moore, himself, in the following quatrain:

> Squire Dougall, your servant, with all your good luck,
> You cannot well be both a beau and a buck:
> Leave the bowl or the ladies, — "Done," cries the good soul,
> "Then hang up the women, and fill up the bowl." *

Note 2. This reference to a plan for an academy of the belles lettres is obscure; no such plan has been discovered in print.

Note 3. Although Smollett's connection with the *Critical* was so well known as to have reached Moore in Glasgow within six months after the commencement of the new review, the other editors guarded their anonymity more carefully. As a matter of fact, they cannot be safely identified even now. The natural tendency has therefore been, ever since the *Critical* was first published, to assume Smollett's authorship for most of the articles. Letters 25 and 31 will show that this assumption was unjustified. The identification of the "four gentlemen of approved abilities" would be a step beyond the limits of this volume. As suggestions, however, I hazard the following names:

Dr. Thomas Francklin (1721–1784), some time Professor of Greek at Cambridge, King's Chaplain in 1767, translator of Sophocles, and fellow worker with Smollett in the thirty-eight-volume translation of Voltaire which appeared between 1761 and 1774. See *D. N. B.*, and Anderson, i, 82.

David Malloch, or Mallet (1705–1765), the friend of Pope, Bolingbroke, and James Thomson. See Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), i, 409 n.

Griffith Jones (1722–1786), who was associated with Dr. Johnson in the writing of the *Literary Magazine*, and later

* J. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* (Glasgow, 1856), 50.

with Smollett and Goldsmith in the *British Magazine*, may have been one of the editors of the *Critical*, though his responsibility was probably small. See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, iii, 465.

The fourth editor, if there were four besides Smollett, may have been the Reverend Joseph Robertson (1726–1802), although, according to his own statement printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1802, his grand total of 2620 articles contributed to the *Critical* appeared "from August, 1764 to September, 1785."

A somewhat doubtful light is thrown on the whole problem of the editorial staff of the *Critical Review* by a rare book entitled *The Battle of the Reviews*, published in 1760 by an anonymous satirist. The unknown author, borrowing his method from Swift and Fielding, describes the strife between the *Critical* and the *Monthly* in a mock-heroic style, and commences with a catalogue of the leaders of the opposing forces. The names, unfortunately, are so disguised as to give not much clue to the identity of the persons referred to. Rehoboam Gruffy, however, is obviously Griffiths, the proprietor of the *Monthly*. Because of the rarity and the pertinence of this book I quote, in part, its comment on the chieftains of the *Critical Review:*

"I saw two only characterized as Reviewers, and the Names of others, without any honourable Mention made of them, as so many Hirelings. . . . Being therefore partly left in the Dark, in Regard to the two Principals, and quite so in Regard to their Subdeligates, I came to a Resolution . . . to mention barely the Names of the latter, with a few shrewd Conjectures about them. . . .

"*Sampson MacJackson*, and *Sawney MacSmallhead* are the Names of the two Select *Critical Reviewers*. They were

both *North Britons*, and both seem to have had the Advantages of a Liberal education, improved by good natural Parts, Reflection and Study. . . .

"The Laqueys, who on the *Critical* List, held up his [*i. e.*, MacSmallhead's] and his Partner *Sampson MacJackson's* Tails, enjoyed . . . the Names of *Duncan MacCroudy*, *Archibald MacBonacs*, *Donald MacHagges*, and *Paddy Fitzpatrick*." *

It is noteworthy that the author of this book, though evidently a person familiar with London journalism of his time, felt not at all certain of the identity of the editors of the *Critical*. MacSmallhead is an evident nickname for Smollett; the other names in the list remain rather cryptic, except that Paddy Fitzpatrick appears to refer to Goldsmith, who, by 1760, had written some sixteen articles for the *Critical*.

Note 4. The reception of the *Critical Review* was at least favorable enough to warrant its long continuance. Much of the contemporary comment, however, was distinctly hostile. Part of the hostility resulted from Smollett's uncompromising criticisms; and because he was the only known responsible person, all of the hostility was directed against him. Dr. Shebbeare, the notorious hack-writer, brought out a pamphlet entitled *The Occasional Critic, or the Decrees of the Scotch Tribunal Reviewed*, in which he charged the editors with ignorance, stupidity, and other vices, but most emphatically with the worst vice of all — their (supposed) Scotch birth. In the same year (September, 1757) the editors replied in a bitter article (probably by Smollett) that "of five persons engaged in writing the *Critical Review*, one only is a native of Scotland."

* *The Battle of the Reviews*, 1760; excerpts from chap. viii.

Some further indication of the reception of the *Critical* is afforded by *The Battle of the Reviews*, mentioned in the preceding note. Although its author apparently strove to be impartial, and criticized Smollett especially for his ferocity, he awarded victory in the strife between the magazines to the side of the *Critical Reviewers*, largely because of the gallantry of Smollett.

Note 5. St. Philip's fort, on the island of Minorca, was captured by the French on June 28, 1756.

Note 6. By "our admiral" Smollett refers to the unfortunate Byng, who, with his fleet, had been sent to assist in the defence of Minorca. Handicapped by conflicting orders and inferior forces, Byng fought an indecisive battle with the French fleet, and then abandoned the island in order to defend Gibraltar, which was also threatened. Popular fury rose to a high pitch, as this letter indicates, and Newcastle's ministry found a scapegoat in Byng, who was shot on March 14, 1757. Smollett's statement of Byng's cowardice is in accord with the rumor assiduously spread by the ministry, rather than with the truth, according to Professor Robertson, in *England under the Hanoverians* (1911), p. 133.

Note 7. Dr. Stevenson was Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, and a member of the Hodge-Podge and Anderston clubs in that city. His characteristics are set forth in two quatrains, the first written by Dr. Moore, himself, in the list of members of the Hodge-Podge Club:

> An obsequious Doctor appears next in view,
> Who smoothly glides in with a minuet bow;
> In manners how soft! in apparel how trig!
> With a vast deal of physic contained in his wig!*

* J. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp. 24, 49, 54.

The second quatrain is an elegy, by a fellow member of the Anderston Club, John Dunlop:

> Friendship shall mourn and Medicine deplore
> The heart that glows, the hand that heals no more;
> While every reader joins the general tear,
> For gentle, generous Stevenson lies here.*

Note 8. Barclay was presumably the same person to whom Letter 3 was addressed.

Note 9. For Blackburn, see Letter 16, Note 11.

Note 10. Fogo was mentioned in Letter 8 as Dr. Moore's cousin.

Letter 25, Page 40

This letter was printed in Anderson (i, 173 f.). A facsimile of the MS., inscribed "J. Netherclift Lithog. from the Coll. of W. Upcott Esq." faces the first page of T. Roscoe's one-volume edition of Smollett (1841). The text here given is taken from the facsimile, the present location of the MS. being unknown.

Note 1. Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) needs no identification other than that of the author of *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Letters 42, 47–50 were likewise written to Richardson.

Note 2. In the *Critical Review* for April, 1756, a notice of a new novel, entitled *The Supposed Daughter*, contained the following unnecessary allusion to Richardson:

"This at least we can say in his favour, that his incidents come thick upon you; his relations are told with brevity; and had the writer of *Sir Charles Grandison* been to have

* J. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp. 24, 49, 54.

worked upon his materials, he would easily have swelled them into twenty folio volumes."

At present this does not seem to be a serious charge: one who has waded through *Sir Charles* feels some sympathy with the unknown reviewer. But the comparison was uncalled for, and, as Smollett doubtless knew, Richardson had a large share of vanity. Hence his application for Millar's services as peacemaker, and hence this apologetic note. Nor was this all. Smollett had already taken steps to appease the wrath of his fellow novelist. In May of this year, an abridgment of Richardson's novels, designed for younger readers, was published under the title, *The Paths of Virtue Delineated*. An article in the *Critical* for that month, surely inspired if not written by Smollett, took occasion to state:

"The author (N. B. Not the compiler) must certainly have secured by them the esteem of every friend to virtue and religion; and we are glad to find them now reduced to such a size as may fit them for every hand."

Richardson was later one of the chief proprietors of the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, for which Smollett did much work (see Letters 47–50). I find no proof that this work had begun as early as 1756. The facts, that is, so far as discovered, warrant the belief that Smollett had no ulterior motive in seeking to remain on good terms with an author for whom he always expressed his admiration. He had enough quarrels of his own making.

Note 3. The History here mentioned I take to be, not the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, in the production of which Smollett and Richardson were associated in 1760, but Smollett's own *Compleat History of England*, in the composition of which he must have been engaged at this time. See Letter 22, Note 9.

Letter 26, Page 41

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 167), with the statement that the original was then in his possession. I do not know the present location of the MS.

Note 1. Letter 23 contained an appeal to Dr. Macaulay for assistance, and specified a method of repayment from the weekly proceeds of the *History*. Apparently, from this somewhat obscure letter five months later, the loan had been granted by Macaulay, but some different system of paying for it had been agreed upon.

Note 2. I have not identified the Captain Crawfurd here mentioned. It is perhaps worth noting that he, like other recipients of Smollett's assistance, was a Scot.

Note 3. Of Dr. Macculloch I find little trace. He seems to have been the one referred to as 'Dr. Maccullo' in Letter 9, where he is mentioned as a possible security. John Gray wrote to Smollett in July, 1771:

"I had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Macculloch rosy, and in good health. He had been here for three weeks, and is returned to his paradise, at Ayr, where he keeps his coach, mows his own hay, &c. He inquired after you, and all your concerns, with his usual warmth." *

It would appear that Dr. Macculloch was an old friend of Smollett's, a Scottish physician, and successful.

Note 4. I have not identified Adam Gordon.

Note 5. Mr. Hamilton's distress is alluded to in Letters 27 and 46. I have not been able to identify him further than as one of the Scots whom Smollett, though himself embarrassed, befriended to the extent of signing a note.

* Anderson, i, 198.

This habit of Smollett's had already cost him the trouble with Peter Gordon (see Letter 11 and Notes), and seems to have been one of the chief causes of his money troubles. That he himself was aware of his mistaken generosity may be seen from Dick Ivy's comments, in *Humphry Clinker* (in Jerry Melford's letter of June 10).

Note 6. Tom Bontein was probably some relative of Graham of Gartmore (see Letter 9, Note 3, for the confusing change of names), the agent for the Lascelles property in Jamaica. It is possible, however, that "Tom" is merely another name for the same person.

Note 7. Letters 19 and 23 also contain references to sums which Smollett expected to receive from the East Indies, apparently from some persons named Harvey. I have not been able to identify the Harveys. Dr. Anderson (i, 43) merely mentions them as people from whom Smollett expected "a remittance."

Note 8. Mr. MacLean figures in Letters 5 (see Note 2), 24, and 25, always as one of Smollett's most pressing creditors.

Letter 27, Page 43

This letter was first printed by Anderson (i, 168), from an original then in his possession. I have not found the MS.

Note 1. Mr. MacLean, evidently a pressing creditor, was mentioned in the preceding letter to Macaulay (26). See Note 8.

Note 2. Hamilton, for whom Smollett had signed a note, was also mentioned in Letter 26 (Note 5), and reappears in Letter 46.

Note 3. By "the farce" Smollett refers to *The Reprisal*, which did not actually receive presentation "immediately," but on January 22, 1757, according to Genest. Garrick's generosity, which will be mentioned later, in regard to this farce, materially increased Smollett's receipts.

Letter 28, Page 44

This letter was first printed in the 1777 edition of Smollett's *Plays and Poems* (vol. vi), with the following note by an anonymous editor: "A friend of Dr. Smollett's, desirous of evincing that he was capable of retracting his prejudices, and that his gratitude was equally warm with any other of his passions, prevailed on Mr. Garrick to permit the Editor to take copies of the foregoing letters from several others he had written to Mr. Garrick." Anderson (i, 56) and Chambers (p. 107) reprinted the letter minus the introductory clause. In no case has the letter been dated. It clearly belongs to a period very shortly after the production of *The Reprisal*, that is, in January, 1757.

Note 1. David Garrick (1717–1779), the famous actor. Smollett's resentment at Garrick's refusal to produce *The Regicide*, that unfortunate tragedy of which Smollett expected so much, found expression in several places. Garrick was caricatured as Marmozet, in the forty-second and forty-third chapters of *Roderick Random* (1748), where the whole story, from Smollett's angle, was indignantly set forth. In the same year, Smollett published *The Regicide*, and in a long Preface bitterly criticized Garrick's attitude; although names were not mentioned, the allusion was perfectly clear. Still angry, Smollett held up Garrick's acting to ridicule in *Peregrine Pickle* (chaps. lv, cii), in 1751. Since

that crowning insult, six years had passed. Garrick was a placable person. His letter to the Reverend John Hoadley * indicates that he was unwillingly drawn into the controversy over *The Regicide*. Smollett went half-way toward a reconciliation, for he took occasion, in the *Critical Review* for March, 1756, to praise Garrick's acting in warm terms. The date of this praise is important: it was nearly a year before the presentation of *The Reprisal*, and not, as has been stated, "a short time before" (Anderson, i, 56; Hannay, p. 145). It was obviously good policy on Garrick's part to be friendly with the editor of the *Critical*. Smollett's farce, although not remarkably good, was, as Garrick could foresee, by no means a bad investment for him. And the letters of Smollett to Macaulay preceding this to Garrick have certainly made clear how badly Smollett wanted the money.

I do not wish, however, to imply that Smollett's change of heart toward Garrick was inspired by sordid motives. His works are full of conflicting opinions about people: rash attacks followed by encomiums, apparently in the attempt to atone for his rashness. The list of persons thus alternately vilified and praised would be a long one if completed. As a single example, take Smollett's attitude toward Fielding. Believing that Fielding had stolen Partridge (in his *Tom Jones*) from Strap (in Smollett's *Roderick Random*), Smollett attacked his rival with unwarrantable zeal in *A Faithful Narrative of the Base and Inhuman Arts that were lately practised upon the brain of Habbakuk Hilding, Justice, Dealer, and Chapman* (1752). Eight years later, and six years after Fielding's death, — when no motive other than repentance could be suspected, — Smollett took occasion,

* *Unpublished Correspondence of David Garrick*, ed. G. P. Baker, Boston, 1907, p. 37.

in his sketch of the progress of the arts during George II's reign in the Continuation of his *History*, to express a high opinion of the value of Fielding's works.

That the reconciliation between Garrick and Smollett was not only real, but lasting, there are other proofs. Dr. Howard Buck has shown that the second edition of *Peregrine Pickle*, from which the attacks on Garrick were excised, was published in 1758. Smollett probably began revising that novel not long after this letter was written, and saw an opportunity of repaying, in part, at least, Garrick's kindness towards him, or, in the words of this Letter, convincing Garrick that his gratitude was as warm as his other passions. Letter 51 proves that Garrick visited Smollett in prison; Letter 53 shows that the two exchanged gifts and compliments. Henry Mackenzie is the authority for the statement that both were members of a club which met weekly at the British Coffee-House.*

Note 2. Samuel Derrick (1724–1769), successively linen-draper, actor, author, and master of ceremonies at Bath. Smollett seems to have known him well (see *Humphry Clinker*, letters dated April 26 and May 5), and was listed as a subscriber for a copy on Royal Paper of Derrick's *Original Poems* (1755). As Derrick was also a good friend of Garrick's, he may well have acted as peacemaker.

Note 3. The identity of the "officious people" who tried to stir up trouble between Garrick and Smollett cannot be discovered. Caleb Whitefoord, who knew Garrick intimately, left a *Character of Garrick*, among his MSS, part of which is here pertinent: —

"He . . . had creatures about him who were station'd spies, and gave him intelligence of every idle word that was

* H. Mackenzie, *Life of John Home*, i, 56.

said to his disadvantage, and were apt to misrepresent the conversation of his acquaintance in order to pay servile court to him." *

Note 4. Garrick allowed the author's benefit on the sixth, instead of on the customary ninth night of the run of *The Reprisal;* he exempted Smollett from the payment of ten (or twenty) pounds for the theatre on his benefit performance; and on that evening he advertised his own appearance in the tragedy of *Zara*, to ensure a crowded house.† This, as Smollett acknowledges, was very handsome treatment.

Letter 29, Page 45

The original of this note is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS, 28, 275 f., 382). It has been reproduced in facsimile as frontispiece to the twelfth volume of Henley's edition of Smollett's works (1901).

Note 1. For James Rivington, see Letter 12, Note 2.

Note 2. According to Chambers, there were four claimants to the character of Strap, each of whom vowed that he had undergone all the experiences ascribed in the novel to Roderick's faithful companion. Anderson mentions three such claimants.‡ In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1771, runs a note to the effect that during that month died "Mr. Duncan Rivers, Bailiff of Glasgow; the person, it is said, from whom Dr. Smollett took his character of Strap in *Roderick Random.*" The multiplicity of claimants

* *Whitefoord Papers*, ed. W. A. S. Hewins (Oxford, 1898), p. 167.
† Anderson, i, 55; A. Murphy, *Life of Garrick* (1801), i, 313–315.
‡ Anderson, i, 26; Chambers, p. 52.

to such a doubtful title is evidence, not only of the popularity of the novel, but also of its realism. This note seems to put the question beyond doubt. That John Lewis was the novelist's comrade through such vicissitudes as Strap and Roderick experienced is, however, not to be understood. Letter 60, in which Smollett disclaims having passed through "the low situations in which I have exhibited Roderick," shows that the novel cannot be entirely taken from life. Smollett lived on Lawrence Street, Chelsea; Lewis, in Church Lane, near by.*

Letter 30, Page 45

This letter was printed, in part, in Irving, p. 19. The original is now at Cameron, and the text here given, thanks to the courtesy of Major Telfer-Smollett, follows the original. The last sentence, in parentheses, was not printed by Irving.

Note 1. The first three volumes of the *History* were reviewed in the *Monthly* for June, 1757, by Oliver Goldsmith,† probably with some interpolations by Griffiths, the proprietor of the magazine.

Note 2. According to the *D. N. B.*, Moore's marriage to Miss Simson, daughter of the Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, took place in 1757. This letter of Smollett's is evidently in reply to Moore's announcement of the wedding. In the course of a later visit to Scotland, Smollett met Mrs. Moore, and left a brief mention of her and her hospitality in *Humphry Clinker* (Jerry Melford's letter of September 3): "an agreeable woman, well-bred, kind, and obliging."

* E. Walford, *Old and New London* (1873–1878), v, 92.

† Forster, *Life of Goldsmith* (1854 ed.), i, 114.

Note 3. Apparently a letter of Smollett's to Moore, describing some of his associates in London, has been lost. It is unfortunate, since there is a possibility that "the little Irishman" may have been Oliver Goldsmith, whose first article in the *Critical* appeared in November, 1757. It was just about this time that Smollett rescued Goldsmith from the clutches of Griffiths, the editor of the rival *Monthly Review*.* As Goldsmith was in very great difficulties, and not yet known to fame, it is possible that the somewhat fastidious Smollett might have been anxious to inform Moore that "the little Irishman" was not to be numbered among his companions.

Note 4. Further traces of Captain Robert Man, or Mann, are almost lacking. In *A Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL*, etc., by George Anson, Esq. . . . Compiled by Richard Walter, Chaplain of H. M. S. *Centurion* (1748), there is no mention of this officer in the text. A Robert Mann, Jun., is, however, listed as a subscriber for a copy on Royal paper. At any rate, the Captain was evidently taken by Moore to meet Smollett's cousins of Bonhill, for in Matt Bramble's second letter from Cameron, in *Humphry Clinker*, mention is made of "a captain of a man of war who had made the circuit of the globe with Mr. Anson," who, on being conducted to the glen in which stood the old house of Bonhill, was so moved by its wild beauty as to exclaim, "Juan Fernandez, by God!"

Note 5. I cannot identify Captain Graham, unless this is a jocular reference to Graham of Gartmore, who never possessed that title.

Note 6. Dr. Brisbane was probably the John Brisbane mentioned in the *D. N. B.* as having received his M.D. from

* Forster, *Life of Goldsmith*, bk. ii, 65 ff.

Edinburgh in 1750, having acted as physician to the Middlesex Hospital from 1758 to 1773, and having written several medical works, as well as an *Anatomy of Painting*. The date of his death is conjectured to have been 1776. As a Scot, and as a friend of the famous Drs. Hunter, it is curious that Smollett had not known him earlier.

Note 7. Mr. Barclay was presumably Smollett's old Glasgow acquaintance, to whom Letter 3 was written, and to whom, through Moore, he so often sent good wishes. Barclay's departure from London is chronicled in the following letter.

Letter 31, Page 47

This letter was printed, in part, in Irving, p. 19. The present text is taken from a copy of the original letter, now at Cameron, by the courtesy of Major Telfer-Smollett. All within parentheses was left unprinted by Irving.

Note 1. I cannot identify "poor Dick," whose death was the cause of Moore's affliction.

Note 2. Pitt wrote an appreciative note in reply to Smollett's dedication, which Smollett preserved carefully: it was found among his papers, after his death, by the then chaplain of the English factory at Leghorn, who brought it to America. Pitt's note was printed in the Philadelphia *Portfolio* in 1801, and reprinted in the *European Magazine* for March, 1804.

Note 3. John Home's *Douglas*, a play extremely popular in Edinburgh and London, had been rather harshly treated in the *Critical* for March, 1757. Modern criticism would be inclined to side with the unknown reviewer, but Smollett must have deprecated the unfavorable notice, since he was

a friend both of Home and of Hume, whose highly laudatory comment on the play may be found in the dedication (to Home) of his *Four Dissertations*. The review, however, is one of many instances which might be cited to show that the *Critical*, in spite of Smollett's influence, was not unduly partial to the Scots.

Note 4. For Capt. Mann, see Note 4 on the preceding letter.

Note 5. For Dr. Stevenson, see Letter 24, Note 7.

Note 6. For Mr. Barclay, see Letter 3, and Letter 30, Note 7.

Letter 32, Page 48

The original of this letter is now in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. For this copy I am indebted to the courtesy of the Director, Miss Belle da Costa Greene. The letter is undated as to year, and has not previously been published.

During the central period of the eighteenth century, October 24 occurred on Monday in the years 1746, 1757, 1763, and 1768. In 1746 Smollett had not settled in Chelsea; in 1763 he was in France on his travels, and after his return from that journey he seems not to have settled at Chelsea for any length of time. Moreover, by 1768 his financial difficulties were much less acute. Hence the date of the letter seems, almost certainly, 1757.

Note 1. For W. Strahan, see Letter 7, Note 1.

Note 2. Dr. R——, and his MS. which Smollett was to prepare for the press, are difficult to identify. I hazard the conjecture that Dr. R—— was Dr. William Robertson, and his manuscript, the *History of Scotland*. In support of this

conjecture are the following facts: 1. This work was going through the press in 1758. David Hume wrote to Robertson about its progress at that time.* 2. Although the volumes were published by Millar, not Strahan, Hume wrote to Robertson in the letter cited above that he had secured the proof sheets from Strahan. Of course, Strahan and Millar were in close association at this time. 3. The *History of Scotland* received a very favorable notice in the *Critical Review* for February, 1759, in an article apparently written by Hume. 4. In the lists of new books which appeared in the contemporary magazines I can find no mention of any, during the period 1757–1759, published by Strahan or Millar and written by a Dr. R—— except this *History*.

With these facts in mind, and the additional knowledge that Smollett, besides being an historian, was skilled in the art of preparing manuscript for the press, it is at least a plausible conjecture that Strahan had sent the MS. of the *History* to his friend Smollett for his opinion. On the other hand, it should be noted that Hume never mentioned to Robertson that his work had been submitted to Smollett. Perhaps he did not know it; possibly he knew it, but thought Robertson might not relish the idea.

Note 3. I cannot identify L——, or his "Pamphlet," which, if my conjecture in the preceding Note be correct, must have dealt with some phase of Robertson's *History*.

Note 4. The letter is at this point nearly illegible. No Dr. Nanre (if such be the name) is known to have been one of Smollett's many creditors.

Note 5. If the MS. mentioned in the letter was Robertson's, this cryptic initial "D——" may refer to David

* Dugald Stewart, *Memoirs of Robertson*, etc. (Edinburgh, 1811), p. 335.

Hume, a close friend of Strahan's, and an acquaintance, at least, of Smollett's. Perhaps Strahan did not wish Hume to know that Robertson's work had been sent to Smollett, and had thus cautioned his correspondent. Such a supposition would explain Smollett's care to use initials only in this letter.

Letter 33, Page 49

This letter was described, and in part printed, in *Autograph Prices Current* (v, 182). It was sold, March 11, 1920, to William Brown, Esq., of Edinburgh, to whose kindness I am indebted for the full text. The letter bears no address; I suppose it to have been written to Dr. Macaulay, chiefly because he had been Smollett's usual recourse in matters financial, and the person to whom this note was addressed had evidently assisted its writer before.

Note 1. I do not know the nature of the agreement with Millar. Possibly it had to do with Smollett's assistance in the preparation of the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, of which Millar was one of the principal proprietors.

Note 2. Smollett's "work" was at this time so multifarious that it is difficult to say to just what part of it he here refers. Besides the editorial work on the *Critical*, he was constantly revising his *History:* the fourth volume of that work must have been going through the press at about this time, since it was published in 1758; he must have been preparing for the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, which began to appear in 1761; and he may well have had a share in other compilations in which his complicity has not hitherto been suspected.

Letter 34, Page 50

This letter was partly printed by Dr. Moore (i, clxi), and copied in the same form by Anderson (i, 63). The MS. is now at Cameron, and the text here given, thanks to the courtesy of Major Telfer-Smollett, follows the original. Material within parentheses has been added.

Note 1. Smollett's partiality, real or supposed, in his *History*, has been the subject of much comment. Timperley states that Smollett offered to write on the Whig side if the Earl of Shelburne would procure patronage for him.* Of this story I have been unable to discover the slightest confirmation. Smollett's grandfather had been one of the Commissioners who established the Union, and a staunch Whig; hence the novelist's education in the principles of that party. For his change of heart I suspect the chief reason to have been the savage measures taken by Cumberland and the Whigs after the rebellion of '45. Though Smollett was not a Jacobite, *The Tears of Scotland* proves how deeply he felt his country's woes, and he must have come to dislike the faction which was responsible for them. Many of his Scottish friends, including Home and Hume, were Tories. Moreover, Smollett was essentially aristocratic, and hated the mob, and the London mob was at this time largely Whig in sympathy. His Toryism culminated in *The Briton*, after which, perhaps because of Bute's failure properly to reward his efforts, he returned to a state of impartiality, and lashed both parties with equal savagery in *The Adventures of an Atom*. In the *History* he took especial pains to show the venality of Sir Robert Walpole's administration

* C. H. Timperley, *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdotes* (1852), p. 703.

(see Third Edition, x, 323, 354, and *passim*), and thus earned Horace Walpole's comment that he was "a dangerous fellow." *

Note 2. Home's tragedy was *Douglas*. See Letter 31, Note 3.

Note 3. The Epigoniad, by William Wilkie (1721–1772), was another production by a Scot which had been severely criticized in the *Critical Review* (July, 1757). Two years later, when a second edition of the epic was (strange as it may seem) called for, Hume wrote Smollett a letter in praise of the poem, and that letter was printed as a regular article in the *Review*, with the following comment: —

"By perusing the following article, the reader will perceive, that how subject soever we, the Reviewers, may be to oversights and errors, we are not so hardened in critical pride and insolence, but that, upon conviction, we can retract our censures, and provided we be candidly rebuked, kiss the rod of correction with great humility." †

Note 4. Although the *Critical* came in for much miscellaneous badgering on the score of its supposed Scottish partiality, the particular attack to which Smollett here refers was doubtless the pamphlet by Dr. Shebbeare, *The Occasional Critic* (dated 1757 in the British Museum Catalogue), which had as a subtitle *The Decrees of the Scotch Tribunal in the Critical Review Rejudged*. The type of Shebbeare's satire may be illustrated by his insistence in alluding to Smollett's *Regicide* as "The Reegeceede." This pamphlet and its author received, naturally, caustic comment in the columns of the *Review* (September, 1757), but Sheb

* *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, vii, 372.

† *Critical Review* (April, 1759), vii, 323.

beare returned to the attack, and grew even more personal, in *An Appendix to the Occasional Critic* (dated 1757 in the British Museum Catalogue). An advertisement in this broadside, evidently aimed at Smollett, contained just enough truth to make it sting:

"Chelsea, Nov. 26, 1757

"To be lett and entered upon immediately
"An empty Author.

"He is equally qualified to write tragedy, comedy, farces, history, novels, voyages, treatises on midwifery, in physic, and on all kinds of polite letters. . . . He will undertake to praise all works, be they never so bad . . . in the Critical Review, for very small gratuities. . . . Besides himself he has under him several journeymen-authors, so that all who chuse to have a subject fitted up . . . may be commodiously furnished at his house. . . . N. B. He chuses to work for those who have never employed him before: And you may enquire after his character of most booksellers, except R——n and A. M——r."

The last sentence indicates that Shebbeare knew or suspected the coolness between A. Millar and Smollett (see Letter 7). He was also well aware of the manner in which Smollett, by the aid of hack-writers, was enabled to turn out such massive productions as the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*. There is no indication that Smollett ever quarrelled with Rivington, whom I take to be R——n.

Letter 35, Page 52

The MS. of this unpublished letter is now in the possession of Harold Murdock, Esq., of Brookline, Massachusetts, to whose generosity I owe a copy. The MS. lacks address and date of year. The letter seems to concern the second edition of *Peregrine Pickle*, which, as Dr. Buck has proved (*A Study in Smollett*, pp. 3 ff.), appeared early in 1758: hence I assume some time in January of that year as the date for this letter.

Note 1. David Wilson (see Letter 14) was the sole publisher of the first edition, but in bringing out the second, was associated with Baldwin, Durham, and J. Richardson. It is possible that this letter was written to any one of the four.

Note 2. The question, "Who wrote the *Memoir of a Lady of Quality?*" has been thoroughly discussed by Dr. Buck (chapter ii of *A Study in Smollett*). His conclusion, reached after most ingenious reasoning on the conflicting evidence, is that Lady Vane, probably assisted by Dr. Shebbeare, wrote them as they appeared in the first edition, and that both Lady Vane and Smollett had a hand in revising them for the second and later editions. This seems to be in accordance with the directions given in this letter, when Smollett desires the proof sheets for correction.

The "letters in manuscript," which did not appear in the first edition, were almost certainly written by Smollett himself. The publisher decided on printing them, and they came out in the later editions with the following heading: "The two following letters, relating to the Memoirs of a Lady of Quality, were sent to the Editor by a person of Honour."

The first letter, though unsigned, purports to be from Lady Vane herself. She writes to Lord ——, asking whether, in a recent conversation, she had sufficiently justified her motives in publishing the Memoirs.

The second letter, Lord ——'s reply, is a masterpiece of gallantry and specious reasoning. He declares his conviction that, inasmuch as she had been accused of so many things of which she was innocent, it was her only defence to make a complete statement of her conduct. Had she omitted anything, it might, upon discovery later, have cast doubt upon the veracity of her narrative. It was, to be sure, unfortunate that she had been compelled to expose certain people (a hit at Lord Vane), but that was inevitable in telling the truth. The letter concludes: "your Memoirs will always be perused with pleasure by all readers of taste and discernment, and your fame, as a beauty and author, long survive the ill offices of prejudice and personal animosity." The style is the style of Tobias Smollett. Incidentally, had the letters been genuine, the matter of publication would scarcely have been left to the discretion of Wilson.

Note 3. I have no clue to the identity of the Mr. Johnson whose papers Smollett was to link up. According to Boswell's careful bibliography, Samuel Johnson was at this time writing nothing to which this statement could apply. In the magazine lists of publications during the year 1758, nothing is announced as written by any Johnson and published by any of the syndicate concerned in the second edition of *Peregrine* (Wilson, Baldwin, Durham, and J. Richardson).

Note 4. Letter 7 indicated that Smollett and Andrew Millar had been on bad terms, probably in regard to the

payment for *Don Quixote*. Millar was one of the many proprietors of the *Universal History*, for the *Modern Part* of which Smollett seems to have acted as editor-in-chief, as Letters 47–50 will show. It is possible that Millar may have objected to his being entrusted with this office.

Note 5. For Samuel Derrick, see Letter 26. I do not know the occasion for his quarrel with the publisher to whom this letter was written.

Letter 36, Page 53

The original of this unpublished note is now in the possession of Colonel A. C. Goodyear, of Buffalo, New York, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the text. It is without address, or date of month and year.

My conjecture is that it was written some time in the year 1758 to Dr. Alexander Carlyle, who in that year revisited London and dined with Smollett at Forrest's Coffee-House. Dr. Carlyle thus states the incident: —

"Robertson the historian had never seen Smollett, and was very desirous of his acquaintance. By this time the Doctor had retired to Chelsea, and came seldom to town. Home and I, however, found that he came once a week to Forrest's Coffee House, and sometimes dined there, so we managed an appointment with him on his day, when he agreed to dine with us. He was now become a great man, and being much of a humourist, was not to be put out of his way. Home and Robertson and Smith and I met him there when he had several of his minions about him, to whom he prescribed tasks of translation, compilation, or abridgment, which after he had seen he recommended to the booksellers. We dined together, and Smollett was very brilliant." *

* *Autobiography*, p. 339.

If my conjecture is correct, the present note is that written by Smollett in answer to Carlyle's invitation to dine.

Note 1. Forrest's Coffee-House was evidently somewhere in the City proper, but seems to have been less well known than the "British," Smollett's other favorite resort. I have been unable to discover its location.

Letter 38, Page 54

This letter was first printed, in part, by Moore (i, clxi f.) and copied by Anderson (i, 65 f.). The original is now at Cameron, and the text here given, thanks to the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett, follows the original. Parentheses enclose new material.

Note 1. I have not been able to identify the friend referred to.

Note 2. The unknown friend who concluded that Smollett had imbibed priestly notions must have done so on the ground of Smollett's Toryism in the *History*. He could not, however, have been a very careful reader, for the *History's* account of the Sacheverell case, for example, leaves no room for doubt that its writer ever regarded the Church as anything but a political establishment.

Note 3. Dr. Moore, in his *Memoir* of Smollett, explains this allusion: "I had written to Dr. Smollett that a friend of mine was so much enraged at some criticisms in that Review that he continued to take it for no other purpose than that he might read all the publications censured by it, and none of those which it praised." *

* Moore, i, clxiii, note.

Note 4. An example of the "malicious slanders" has been given in the quotation from Dr. Shebbeare's second pamphlet in Letter 34, Note 4.

Note 5. As this sentence indicates, the *History* was being reprinted weekly in pamphlet form, and was meeting with immense success. Contemporary advertisements confirm Smollett's estimate of the sale: the *London Chronicle* for Friday, April 20, 1759, announced:

"The Proprietors take this Opportunity of acknowledging their great Obligations to the Public, for the most extraordinary Marks of their Favour shewn to this Performance, which has encreased the Sale of the Work to upwards of Ten Thousand Weekly." The *St. James Chronicle*, for November 29, 1763, in announcing a new edition, asserted that "since its first appearance upwards of 16,000 copies have been sold — a circumstance unknown in any other age or Country." If advertisements are inclined to exaggerate, we still have the testimony of a rival historian. Hume, whose own *History of England* was making its appearance at this time, wrote to his publisher, Andrew Millar, in 1758: "I am afraid that the extraordinary run upon Dr. Smollett has a little hurt your sales. But these things are only temporary." *

Note 6. The Frenchman who wished to translate the *History* may have been the man mentioned in a letter of Hume's to Robertson, dated March 12, 1759: "There is one Carracioli, who came to me and spoke of translating my new volume of History, but as he also mentioned his intentions of translating Smollett, I gave him no encouragement to proceed. The same reason would make me averse to see

* *Letters of David Hume to W. Strahan*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1888), p. 256.

you in his hands."* This letter seems to show that Hume, conscious of the greater permanent value of his own work, was somewhat piqued at the temporarily superior popularity of Smollett's.

Letter 39, Page 56

This note was first printed by Wilkes, after his quarrel with Smollett, in the *Court Miscellany* for July, 1769, and reprinted in the same year in *Letters between the Duke of Grafton*, etc., *and John Wilkes, Esq. With Explanatory Notes*, p. 59. It has since been reprinted in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, i, 348; J. Almon's *Correspondence of John Wilkes, Esq.* (1805), i, 46; and in Anderson, i, 69. The original is now in the British Museum, Add. MSS 30.877, f. 8.

Since this note was written, the seven letters to John Wilkes (39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 52, 54) have been published in Dr. Arnold Whitridge's *Tobias Smollett* (printed for the author), N. Y., 1925.

Note 1. John Wilkes (1725–1797), wit, politician, and man about town, needs no identification here. How he became acquainted with Smollett is not known, but can be surmised, as they had friends in common. Wilkes had been, in 1745–1746, a student in Leyden, where one of his companions was Alexander Carlyle, who first met Smollett during this period. Despite the sarcasms on the Scotch which Wilkes delighted to express in the *North Briton* later on, Carlyle declares that until 1763 "people of that nation were always Wilkes' favorites."† This statement is in part, at least, borne out by the fact that another very close

* *The Works of W. Robertson, D.D.* (1817), i, 169.

† *Autobiography*, p. 168.

friend of Wilkes was Dr. John Armstrong (1709–1779), author of various works, including *The Art of Preserving Health*, and likewise an old acquaintance of Smollett's. It is possible that the set of verses noted as Letter 1, written when Smollett was a schoolboy, was addressed to Armstrong. Soon after Wilkes's marriage Armstrong was not only his boon companion, but his family physician.* Either of these two might have brought Wilkes and Smollett together, and though this note is the earliest in date which I have been able to find, its first sentence, as well as its general tone, indicate that they were already on terms of intimacy. Both were convivial, and brilliant conversationalists. They had a further bond in common: Polly Wilkes and Elizabeth Smollett were approximately of the same age, and probably attended the same school. In 1758 Polly Wilkes was sent to a private school in Chelsea, kept "by a Mrs. Aylesworth and a Madame Beete, . . . which Wilkes had chosen after the most careful inquiries on the recommendation of his friend, Tobias Smollett, the novelist, who lived in the same neighborhood." †

Note 2. Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) is sufficiently identified by Smollett's jocular description of him as "that great Cham of Literature." By what means the Lexicographer, who, unlike Wilkes, had no favoritism for Scots, became acquainted with Smollett to such a degree as to make this request, I have not been able to ascertain. Boswell did not meet Johnson until 1763, and, though he printed this letter in his *Life* (mistaking "Cham" for "Chum" in his first edition), gave no other record of any degree of friendship which might have existed. The letter

* H. Bleackley, *Life of John Wilkes*, p. 23.

† *Ibid.*, p. 19.

itself is evidence that the two men of letters were not "cater-cousins." Yet, according to Sir John Hawkins, who states no authority, Johnson had gone out of his way to assist Smollett in at least a negative fashion, some time before 1757: —

"Being informed that Dr. Smollet was writing a history of England, . . . he cautioned him not to rely on the debates as given in the Magazine for that they were not authentic, but, excepting as to their general import, the work of his own imagination." * Johnson and Smollett may well have met, however, either through Millar and Strahan, for whom each had done work, or through other booksellers.

Note 3. Francis Barber, Johnson's servant and residuary legatee, is known to all readers of Boswell. But Boswell's account of Francis's naval career is notably different from that given in this letter, on Johnson's authority, for he states that Francis was "not pressed, as has been supposed, but with his own consent" joined the navy.† As Boswell got his facts from Francis himself, either the great Samuel, in his eagerness to rescue his servant, did not give a wholly faithful account of the affair to Smollett, or else the latter exaggerated the case to Wilkes.

Note 4. I have not identified further Captain Angel.

Note 5. This sentence probably refers to Johnson's supposed wrath at a *jeu d'esprit* of Wilkes on Johnson's erroneous statement, in his *Grammar of the English Tongue*, prefixed to the *Dictionary*, that "*H* seldom, perhaps never, begins any but the first syllable." Soon after, an essay by Wilkes appeared, in which he enumerated many instances controverting this supposed rule, and suggested that its

* *Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Sir John Hawkins (1787), i, 129.
† *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), i, 349.

maker was a "Block*h*ead."* That Johnson ever felt anger at this raillery, however, may be doubted, since he did not even correct the error to which it called attention until the edition of 1773. Bleackley suggests that whatever dislike Johnson had for Wilkes at this time was caused by the reputation for profligacy which Wilkes had gained.†

Note 6. Dr. Hay was Sir George Hay (1715–1778), a warm friend of Wilkes, though later his opponent in politics. From 1756 to 1765 he was one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and hence a suitable person to approach in this case. See *D. N. B.*

Note 7. Mr. Elliot, another member of the Admiralty board, was Sir Gilbert Elliot, third Baronet of Minto. He was one of the most prominent Scotchmen of the day: Boswell mentioned his elocution as a model for Scotch orators;‡ it was he who introduced John Home to Lord Bute;** and he is said to have been a member of a club of wits who met at the British Coffee-House, together with Smollett and David Garrick.††

Letter 40, Page 57

This letter has appeared in print in the same publications as its predecessor. The original is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 30.877).

Note 1. "Behold, Crispinus again"—Juvenal, sat. iv, 1.

* Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), i, 300.
† Bleackley, *Life of Wilkes*, p. 52.
‡ Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), ii, 160.
** *Autobiography*, p. 337.
†† H. Mackenzie, *Works of John Home*, i, 56.

Note 2. In this sentence Smollett celebrates the safe return of Francis Barber ("without any wish of his own," says Boswell) to Dr. Johnson.*

Note 3. Sir Charles Knowles (1704?–1777). He had commanded H. M. S. *Weymouth* on the expedition against Carthagena in which Smollett had served, and in the account of that expedition included in the *Compendium of Voyages* (published 1756), Smollett had already ridiculed Knowles's attempt to bombard Fort San Lazaro with two small mortars, at a range of 2600 yards, in spite of his engineer's declaration that the distance was far too great.†

Note 4. In 1757 Admiral Knowles and General Sir John Mordaunt had been in charge of an expedition against Rochefort, which had failed dismally, largely, it was said, because of differences in opinion between the naval and military chiefs. The great interest throughout England in this expedition is reflected in the flood of pamphlets attacking and defending its leaders which issued from the press: in the fifth volume of the *Critical* ten such productions were noticed, including one written by Knowles himself. The *Critical Review* took a strong stand against both the general and the admiral. Smollett had seen the Carthagena failure and knew how evil were the effects of professional jealousy. When Knowles's exculpatory pamphlet came into his hands, it was mercilessly condemned. Hannay, in his *Life of Smollett*,‡ has given an entirely erroneous notion of the injudicious article by stating that he would quote it at length, and then by omitting entirely its opening paragraphs, which, as they contain Smollett's personal attack on Knowles, I give, in part: —

* Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), i, 350.

† Anderson, iv, 467 f.

‡ Hannay, pp. 185 ff.

"Ask his character of those who know him, they will not scruple to say, he is an admiral without conduct, an engineer without knowledge, an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity. They will tell you he is an ignorant, assuming, officious, fribbling pretender; conceited as a peacock, obstinate as a mule, and mischievous as a monkey; that in every station in life he has played the tyrant with his inferiors, the incendiary among his equals, and commanded a sq——n occasionally for twenty years without having even established his reputation in the article of personal courage." *

Such a diatribe suggests that Smollett's experience with Knowles in the Carthagena expedition had been unhappy!

Note 5. I have not been able to discover the identity of the other mediators. At any rate, their efforts, like those of Wilkes, were unsuccessful. According to Dr. Moore, the admiral's counsel stated that his client had no desire to punish the unoffending printer (Archibald Hamilton, proprietor of the *Critical*), against whom the suit was brought, but wished to discover the writer of the article, of whom, if he proved to be a gentleman, another kind of satisfaction would be demanded. Smollett immediately admitted his authorship, and expected a challenge. Instead, Knowles commenced a new prosecution against him, in consequence of which Smollett was fined a hundred pounds and sentenced to three months' imprisonment in the King's Bench. In the eyes of many people such action on the admiral's part justified Smollett's accusation of cowardice in the paragraph quoted above. †

* *Critical Review* (May, 1758), v, 438 f.

† Moore, i, cli.

Letter 41, Page 58

This letter is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 30.877 f. 19). Its paper is so stained as to render the words nearly illegible. There is no date of year, but the postscript proves that it must have been written in 1759, when the suit with Knowles was much on Smollett's mind.

Note 1. Mr. Fitzherbert, as it appears from Letter 43, had been thought of by Wilkes as a possible mediator in the Knowles affair, and this letter of Smollett's seems to be in reply to an invitation to meet Fitzherbert, at Wilkes's house. William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, in Derbyshire, M.P., should have been an excellent peacemaker, for there are many references to the esteem in which he was held. Edmund Burke and Dr. Johnson united in his praise;* John Almon called him "a gentleman universally beloved";† and in 1765 he was again chosen to play the mediator, this time between Wilkes, then an exile, and the Whig ministers, who were anxious to appease him with a pension. Fitzherbert startled society by committing suicide, in 1772.

Note 2. Johnson may well have thought his obligations to Smollett cancelled by the article here so innocently referred to by its author. To understand the situation it is necessary to have a brief summary of the events which called it forth: another of Smollett's quarrels resulting from the *Critical*. In 1758 Dr. James Grainger, a friend at that time both of Smollett and of Dr. Johnson, had published a translation of Tibullus, which had received, in private, Johnson's approval. Smollett, however, criticized the

* Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), iii, 148 and n.

† J. Almon, *Biographical, Literary and Political Anecdotes* (n. d.), i,6

performance rather severely, attacking the versification, the accuracy of the translation, and the unwieldly notation in the volume (*Critical Review*, vi, 475 ff.). Grainger was thoroughly stirred up by this attack, and published a pamphlet in reply (February, 1759), entitled *A Letter to T. S., M.D. occasioned by his criticism on a late translation of Tibullus, by Dr. Grainger*. In this he asserted the authority of Johnson for the excellence of his translation, and made as much fun of Smollett as he could, his style being much too pompous for his purpose. His main weapon was the reiteration of the nickname "Toby." Smollett replied in a long article in the February *Critical*, in which he took considerable liberties with Johnson, as the following quotations will show:

"You exhort us, good Dr. Grainger, to be more conversant with Johnson's dictionary, and, upon more than one occasion, send forth that great name, like a tall beadle with a long staff at the head of a parish procession. We have looked into that work, and found, that even Johnson is not infallible. He has, for example, mistaken *aloft* for *aloof*, and misquoted Milton for his authority . . . what is more extraordinary we find him giving *Sabbath* and *Sabaoth* as synonimous words, though every old woman that reads her prayers can tell, that the first signifies *rest*, and the other *hosts* or *armies*. We seek not to swell the catalogue of such mistakes; neither will we, in imitation of critic Grainger, affirm that none but ignorant blockheads could mistake so grossly the meaning of an English word. Remember, however, that as your great oracle, Mr. Johnson, the dictionary writer, has been caught tripping more than once, even when deliberately walking in his own beaten path, we, in the hurry of a monthly publication, may sometimes stum-

ble, without incurring the imputation of ignorance and presumption. . . .

"We are again confronted with Mr. Samuel Johnson, on whose genius and learning poet Grainger comes abroad like a puny dwarf mounted on the shoulders of a giant. The author of the *Rambler*, you say, advised you to send your translation of Tibullus to the press. We can easily conceive how a good-natured man should be influenced to speak civilly of a bad performance, written by a humble admirer and officious adherent: but, if you thought the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Johnson sufficient to ascertain the merit of your work, you ought to have inserted his *imprimatur* on the first leaf."

While it is easy to see that Smollett was consciously and unconsciously paying tribute to the supremacy of "the great Cham" in matters literary, it is also easy to see that Johnson may well have disliked being dragged into such an undignified squabble.

Letter 42, Page 59

This letter was printed in Anderson, i, 175. The original is now in the possession of W. G. Legg, Esq., of Rothley, near Leicester, England, who has very kindly sent me a copy for collation with the printed text. Mr. Legg informs me that the MS. is endorsed and dated in Richardson's own hand, and that his nephew drafted a reply on the inside sheet. This answer is also printed in Anderson, i, 176.

Note 1. By "Modern History" Smollett here refers to that vast compilation entitled *The Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, published for a combination of booksellers and printers of which Samuel Richardson and Andrew Mil-

lar appear to have been the principal members. Its forty-four volumes appeared at intervals from 1759 to 1766. As this letter indicates, Smollett exercised a sort of editorial supervision over the work, though he disliked the task, and probably wrote little, himself. Dr. Anderson (i, 74) states that the histories of France, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Holland were written by Smollett. From this letter it seems likely that the compilation, if not the writing, of the history of the southern part of America should be included in the list of his contributions. This, as published, formed the first part of the fifteenth volume.

Note 2. Mr. Shirley was probably William Shirley (fl. 1738–1780), dramatist and miscellaneous writer. Baker's *Biographica Dramatica* (1782) notes fifteen plays of Shirley's. A letter of his concerning the coinage of silver was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1759.

Note 3. Dr. Campbell was undoubtedly the Dr. John Campbell (1708–1775), who was one of the most prolific writers of the age. At eighteen he wrote a *Military History* of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; later he engaged in the *Ancient Part* of the *Universal History*. He was a friend of Dr. Johnson's, and seems to have been noted equally for his piety and his ability to consume port.*

Note 4. Richardson's reply, written, because of his own illness, by his nephew William, stated that the sheets written by Shirley had been sent for Smollett's judgment as to their fitness for publication, and refers to a conference which had been held between Millar, Richardson, and Smollett, after consulting Psalmanazar, in which it had

* Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. B. Hill), i, 418; iii, 243.

been agreed that Smollett's approval was to be obtained before anything written by Shirley was accepted. It further stated that both Richardson and Millar approved of the method suggested by Smollett for filling up the "chasm" in the part dealing with the South American regions, or of "any other manner that shall seem best to you for the service of the work." * The letter shows every confidence in Smollett's editorial judgment and indicates that he had ample power.

Letter 43, Page 60

The original of this letter is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 30.877, f. 10).

Note 1. This letter is obviously in reply to an invitation from Wilkes to visit him at his country home, the Prebendal House and Manor at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.

Note 2. Mark Akenside (1721–1770) was the physician whose excessive love for the ways of the ancients Smollett had ridiculed in *Peregrine Pickle* (see, especially, the immortal entertainment after the manner of the ancients, in chapter xliv). According to the notice in the *D. N. B.* Akenside was "mentally fossilized by pedantry and conceit" from 1745 to the end of his life. In the *Critical Review* for March, 1758, Smollett made amends for his caricature by praising Akenside's poem *The Call of Aristippus*, although there is a possibility that his encomiums were partly the result of his desire to contradict an unfavorable notice in the rival *Monthly Review*. He also, however, mentioned Akenside as excelling in didactic poetry, in the continuation of the *History of England* (1760).

* Anderson, i, 176.

Note 3. John Gilbert Cooper (1723–1769), a friend of Akenside's, was likewise noted for his classical erudition. His Platonism is perhaps indicated by his *Life of Socrates* (1749). His *Epistles to the Great from Aristippus in Retirement* (1758) was partly in praise of Akenside, whose reply was *The Call of Aristippus* mentioned in the preceding note.

Note 4. *Sal Atticum*, Attic salt, or wit.

Note 5. *Invita Minerva*, when Minerva is unwilling.

Note 6. This reference to the table manners of "our friend Armstrong" (Dr. John Armstrong, 1704–1779, for whom see Note 1, Letter 39) is somewhat confirmed by a comment in the *Critical Review* for May, 1758, when Smollett noticed his *Sketches or Essays on various Subjects*, published under the pseudonym of Launcelot Temple. In discussing Armstrong's essay *On Taste*, Smollett remarked: "We likewise beg to differ from our author's opinion, that mutton has a more delicious flavor than venison; and that flounder is preferable to turbot. This, we conceive, is a downright solecism in eating, on which we should be glad to hold a practical conference with Mr. Launcelot Temple."

Note 7. Here Smollett refers to the efforts made by Wilkes and Fitzherbert (see Note 1, Letter 41) to settle the Knowles case out of court.

Note 8. Quoted from Vergil, *Aeneid*, x, 503: "The time will come when Turnus [that is, Knowles] shall wish that Pallas, bought at so great a price, were unharmed." Smollett evidently meant to prophesy some future vengeance upon the admiral, but his prediction was not fulfilled.

Letter 44, Page 62

The original of this letter is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 30.877, f. 15). A facsimile has been published, without comment, in *The History of English Literature*, by R. Garnett and E. Gosse (N. Y. and London, 1913), iii, 324.

Note 1. The preceding letter, written six months earlier, mentioned Smollett's "capricious Constitution" and, more specifically, a sore throat. I do not know whether or not he had been ill continuously from April to October, but these allusions to his ill health are the first of a long series. According to Dr. Gordon, to whom he was apprenticed, he was, at the age of seveteen, already troubled by a chronic cough.* Probably his life in the navy caused the disappearance of that symptom, and temporarily confirmed him in the robust health to which Dr. Moore bears witness.† His tremendous activity and sedentary life were by 1759 beginning to take their toll.

Note 2. K—— refers evidently to Admiral Knowles, for whose suit against Smollett, see Letters 40, 41, 43, and Notes.

Note 3. The Attorney General at this time was Charles Pratt (1714–1794), later famous as Lord Camden, a staunch friend of Pitt's, and a consistent Whig.

Note 4. William Pitt (1708–1778), first Earl of Chatham, was at this time Secretary of State for the Southern Department. Perhaps Smollett thought that he might be influenced to quash the suit against a man who had dedicated a *History of England* to him (see Letter 31, Note 2). I have not been able to ascertain how this plan of Smol-

* Irving, p. 14 n.

† Moore, i, cxciv, clxxiv.

lett's failed. Wilkes may not have been able, or willing, to bring it to Pitt's notice. If he did, Pitt may well have thought that, although Smollett's attack was a personal one, and not a charge against the Crown, it was not likely to improve the morale of the service if such denunciations as that against Knowles (see Letter 40, Note 4) were allowed to remain unpunished. If this latter surmise be true, it is entirely possible that we have an explanation of Smollett's extraordinarily bitter satire of Pitt, as Orator Taycho, throughout *The Adventures of an Atom* (1769).

Letter 45, Page 63

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 169) from an original then in his possession. I have not traced the MS.

Note 1. Mr. Jameson remains unidentified.

Note 2. None of Smollett's biographers have mentioned the journey to the Continent which is here referred to. I do not know its purpose, but find an obscure allusion to the journey in the first letter of the *Travels through France and Italy*. This was written in 1763, though not published until 1766. In it he mentions experiences with the customs officials "about five years ago, in my passage from Flushing to Dover." * As Letter 43 is dated from Chelsea in April, 1759, and Letter 44, from the same place, is dated October, 1759, the trip presumably took place between those dates.

Note 3. I have not identified Mr. Dobbins.

Note 4. In Letter 59, written to John Home, Smollett mentions an attempt he made "in the last ministry" to secure appointment as Consul at Madrid. Letter 59 was writ-

* Anderson, v, 252.

ten in December, 1762. Bute succeeded Pitt in May of that year, so that Pitt's ministry, still in power in 1759, must have been the one alluded to. Hence I suppose Smollett's anxiety to hear what steps Macaulay had taken with respect to Spain, to refer to this unsuccessful candidacy.

Letter 46, Page 64

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 168) from an original then in his possession. I have not traced the MS.

Note 1. This letter is, I believe, misdated. (*a*) It evidently refers to the same financial transactions as Letters 26 and 27 (September and November, 1756). (*b*) It alludes to the "representation of my piece after the holidays." *The Reprisal* was put on by Garrick in January, 1757, but I find no evidence that it or any other piece by Smollett was produced during the corresponding period of 1760. (*c*) Dr. Clephane, mentioned in the final sentence, died on a visit to the Isle of Wight in 1758. It is possible, but highly improbable, that Smollett had not heard of this by December, 1759.

On the other hand, Dr. Anderson had the original MS. in his hand, and although it is easy to account for the change of 1756 to 1759 by a typographical error, I have not ventured to alter the date on negative evidence. See Note 7, below.

Note 2. For Mr. Hamilton, see Letter 26, Note 5.

Note 3. For Mr. Maclean, see Letter 26, Note 8.

Note 4. The Milne here mentioned may have been Colin Milne, D.D., mentioned in the *Catalog of Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain Now Living* (1788) as evening preacher to the London Lying-In Hospital, and au-

thor of a Botanical Dictionary as well as of a volume of sermons. I hazard this suggestion because he seems to have been a Scot, because his hospital connections might have made him known to Macaulay, and because his miscellaneous writing would be likely to bring him to Smollett's acquaintance.

Note 5. For the relations between Garrick and Smollett, and the production of *The Reprisal*, see Letter 28 and Notes.

Note 6. I have not identified "one Forbes." It is noteworthy, however, that even when Smollett's own affairs were in a serious condition, he found time to assist, so far as he might, his still needier fellow countrymen.

Note 7. No such article appeared in the *Review* for December, 1756, or January, 1757, either of which might have been the numbers referred to if my theory of this letter's date is correct. There is, of course, no proof that Macaulay complied with this request. On the other hand, if Dr. Anderson's date of 1759 for this letter is accurate, the article referred to may be three short paragraphs in the January, 1760, number of the *Critical*, headed "Art. XI. Painting and Engraving," in which the works of one Mr. Paton, "an ingenious sea-piece painter," were highly commended. This is another reason for my reluctance to alter the date of this letter. See Note 1, above.

Note 8. I have found no trace of "the Bacchus."

Note 9. Dr. Hunter may refer to either of the famous brothers, John (1728–1793), or William (1718–1783), who were at this time rapidly reaching the foremost places in the medical profession in London. The columns of the *Critical Review* gave much space in 1757 to a dispute between Dr. William Hunter and a Dr. Monro about an innovation

in surgery. Smollett ardently championed Dr. William Hunter's claims, and Anderson printed a letter (i, 181) from William Hunter to Smollett about this matter.

Note 10. Dr. John Clephane, like the Hunters, was a Scotch doctor who achieved success in London. The *D. N. B.* does not give the date of his birth. He was a close friend of David Hume, as may be seen from letters in J. H. Burton's *Life and Correspondence of Hume* (Edinburgh, 1846). He also was acquainted with Alexander Drummond, who mentioned meeting him in Venice, in the book of *Travels* which Smollett prepared for the press (see Letter 13). He may have met Smollett through either Hume or Drummond.

Letter 47, Page 65

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 177) from an original in his possession. I have not traced the MS.

Note 1. The enclosure has been lost. Presumably the few remarks had to do with methods of arousing the torpid interest in that monumental work, the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*. I have not traced the actual appearance of such a "new account" of the work, but Smollett had already done a considerable amount of advertising through the *Critical Review*, and was to continue the good work. From September, 1759, to December, 1760, fourteen notices of the *History* appeared in the *Critical:* these were usually given a prominent place in the magazine, and were often favorable. Even when the style of the historians was criticized, the subject-matter received praise for its novelty, accuracy, or general interest. In the first article of this series (January, 1759) the reviewer, probably Smollett

himself, took the opportunity to praise the work as follows: —

"We ought rather to wonder at its being executed at any rate, than be surprized to see it so long delayed. . . . We are astonished, when we reflect that a set of private booksellers could be found to engage in such an enterprize; and still more amazed, that they should find authors to execute their plan with any degree of uniformity and precision."

Such a notice becomes a trifle amusing, when read in connection with Letters 42, 47–50, which detail some of the difficulties of Smollett as editor.

Note 2. "Our good friend," who advocated such an advertisement as Smollett was ready to write, may have been Andrew Millar, who was another chief proprietor of the *History*. See Letter 25, and Letter 42, Note 4. By this time Millar and Smollett were again on good terms.

Note 3. Puffendorf's *History of Sweden* was translated into English as early as 1702, according to the British Museum Catalogue. The other books mentioned I have not found in that list.

Letter 48, Page 66

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 177) from the original in his possession. I have not traced the MS.

Note 1. From the first part of this letter it seems safe to infer that Smollett himself did not write the section on France in the *Universal History*, but subjected it to searching revision. That portion was, however, attributed to him by Dr. Anderson (in spite of the fact that he owned this letter), and by J. P. Anderson of the British Museum, who compiled the bibliography printed in Hannay's *Life of*

Smollett. The style of the text itself is not particularly characteristic of Smollett. A great many of the notes which he allowed to stand are, however, references to Smollett's *History of England*.

Note 2. I have not found this book.

Note 3. See Letter 47, Note 2.

Note 4. The publication here referred to was undoubtedly the *British Magazine*, started in January, 1760, of which John Newbery was the publisher and proprietor, and to which Smollett contributed *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, as well as other pieces. This periodical had Smollett's name on the title-page, unlike the *Critical*. I can find no evidence in the early numbers of the *British* that Richardson complied with this request for a contribution.

Letter 49, Page 67

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 178) from the original in his possession. I have not traced the MS.

Note 1. That Smollett had pretty free rein in his editorial capacity is indicated by his choice of portions of the *History* for his own composition. According to Anderson the section on Sweden and Holland were both done by him. I already have shown (Letter 48, Note 1), that such attributions were not always correct, but this letter seems to bear out Anderson's statement as far as Holland is concerned. Internal evidence, in the case of the *Universal History*, is exceedingly untrustworthy as well as difficult to obtain. The style exhibits no marked characteristics, and, as Letter 48 shows, Smollett's revision was probably of a very thorough kind.

Note 2. I have not been able to discover the identity of the amanuensis. Possibly the "little Irishman" mentioned in Letter 30 is the person to whom reference is here made. At any rate, it must have been a novel experience for either Smollett or his amanuensis to be idle.

Letter 50, Page 67

This letter was printed by Anderson (i, 178) from the original in his possession. I have not traced the MS.

Note 1. These "hints" were also printed by Anderson. As his 1820 edition, in which alone they appear, is now rare, I give a brief résumé.

The unsatisfactory reception of the *Universal History* by the public is due (*a*) to its huge bulk, and (*b*) to the rapidity with which the volumes are issued. People object to the expense of keeping their sets complete, especially when a new volume comes out before they have had time to read the last one. Yet after the whole work has been finished, it will not be a failure, because of its completeness and authenticity. Even if the sale of the sets does not prove satisfactory it will be better, rather than sell the books as waste paper, to issue certain portions as separate histories. Some, like that of Mahomet, are now without competition in their several fields. Others (including Smollett's contributions of the *German Empire*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*) should have a good sale, since they are written "from authors who never appeared in the English language."

From these arguments and from this letter it is evident that the booksellers were contemplating the abandonment of so great and expensive an undertaking. Although Smollett declared to Richardson that he was "uninterested"

(that is, disinterested) in the final decision of the proprietors, it is equally evident that he disliked to have the project given up. I do not know what terms he got from the publishers, but it is likely that their abandonment of the work would have left him out of pocket. Since it must have been known that he was editor, his prestige in that capacity would also suffer if they decided not to continue.

Note 2. The complaints of the author's sad state and the lack of generosity of booksellers as a class — "that set of contemptible reptiles" — were not new. See Letter 12, Note 4, and *Peregrine Pickle*, chap. 94 (quoted in part in Letter 7, Note 3). Chapter 8 of Goldsmith's *Present State of Polite Learning* (1759) echoes, especially in its later paragraphs, the same complaint. Both authors had reason for their lamentations, but it is perhaps significant that their utterances appear at the time when they must have been closely connected in work for the *Critical Review* and *British Magazine*.

Note 3. This direct flattery of Richardson sounds fulsome, especially since Smollett so obviously had an axe to grind. On the other hand, his language in Letter 25, when he had no such motive, was equally laudatory, and Richardson's reply to that letter was couched in a strain at least as complimentary.

Letter 51, Page 69

This letter was first printed in the *Memoir* of Smollett prefixed to the anonymously edited *Plays and Poems* (1777), p. xvii, and was reprinted by Anderson (i, 76). I have not found the MS.

Note 1. George Colman (1732–1794), journalist, poet, and playwright, as well as theatrical manager and wit. He was a good friend of Garrick, and also of Charles Churchill, the real author of the *Rosciad.*

Note 2. The offensive article appeared in the *Critical Review* for March, 1761. In it the *Rosciad* was praised for its cleverness, but its author was accused of singing his own praises (Colman's critical ability is lauded in the poem), and, still worse, of a lack of generosity in attacking such helpless opponents as "the inferior players of the two houses." Colman's anger at such charges is understandable, and unfortunately Smollett had attacked people in the past so freely as to make it natural for Colman to suspect him as the author of this particular review.

Note 3. Dr. Anderson states (i, 75) that "Mr. Colman . . . renounced all right to the performance, in the public papers" soon after the appearance of the article in the *Review.* I have not traced his disclaimer.

Note 4. I cannot identify the actual author of the article. Apparently Colman was satisfied by Garrick of Smollett's innocence in the matter. There is not even a mention of it in Peake's *Memoirs of the Colman Family.* But Churchill did not know, or refused to believe, that Smollett had not written the article, for he published a bitter *Apology to the Critical Reviewers* (1761), in which he attacked Smollett violently. In the May number of the *Critical* the notice of this poem restates Smollett's denial of the authorship of the original article.

The whole matter is typical of the manner in which Smollett was frequently castigated for sins he had not committed — as if he had not sinned enough in his own right. One result, undoubtedly, of the little war over the

Rosciad was the readiness of Churchill to join Wilkes in the political and literary warfare which was shortly to break out on Bute's accession to the ministry, and Smollett's ill-fated attempt to defend that noble lord in the *Briton*.

Note 5. I cannot help calling attention to this sentence, which seems to me to sum up the net result of Smollett's experience in life in a very typical, grimly humorous fashion. It coincides precisely with his comparison of Catholicism and Calvinism to comedy and tragedy, respectively, in Letter V of his *Travels*, in its utter absence of sympathy for a religious point of view.

Note 6. By his "enlargement" Smollett here alludes to his release from the term in the King's Bench prison which was the outcome of his suit with Admiral Knowles (see Letters 40, 43 and Notes). It is possible to fix the date, approximately, of his incarceration, since there are letters in this collection dated from Chelsea in October, 1760, and this one of April 5, 1761.

Note 7. The article on Bower's *History* appeared in the *Critical Review* for March, 1761. If he wrote it, as he here states, after his release, his term in prison probably came between October, 1760, and March of the following year.

Note 8. According to Anderson, Smollett's stay in prison was enlivened by many visits from his friends. His courageous action in the Knowles case won him considerable admiration. Garrick's visit is particularly noteworthy, as it seems proof that their reconciliation was permanent. See Letter 28, Note 1.

Letter 52, Page 70

The MS. of this letter is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 30.877 f. 17).

Note 1. I have been unable to find anything further about Robert Love. His name does not appear on lists of promotions and appointments that I have inspected in contemporary magazines.

Note 2. Smollett's old schoolmaster was John Love (1695–1750), joint editor with Ruddiman of a Latin version of the Psalms. He was master of the Dumbarton Grammar School from 1721 to 1735, and later rector of the school at Dalkeith. (*D. N. B.*)

Note 3. C. Ochiltree Macdonald, in *The Last Siege of Louisburg* (1907), p. 78, mentions the cutting-out of two French men-of-war as a particularly gallant exploit. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxviii, 388.

Note 4. Cumberland Harbour was so named by Admiral Vernon in 1741, in honor of that duke whose activities in the '45 so stirred Smollett to wrath. It is now known as Guantanamo Bay, and famous for more recent naval exploits. I have found no reference to the affair with the privateers mentioned by Smollett.

Note 5. See Letter 39, Note 6.

Letter 53, Page 72

This letter was originally printed in the *Memoir* prefixed to the anonymously edited *Plays and Poems* (1777), p. xviii, and was reprinted by Anderson (i, 68). I have not found the MS.

Note 1. Garrick evidently sent his erstwhile enemy a copy of his emendation of *A Winter's Tale*. Smollett was not content to express his pleasure in this letter, but favorably reviewed the volume in the February, 1762, number of the *Critical Review*, in which he remarked that Garrick had removed the unfortunate irregularities of the play, and made it into a "regular, connected, and consistent entertainment." Whatever may be thought of the Shakespearean criticism involved, it is pleasant to see the two former foes completely reconciled, and, like Homeric heroes, exchanging gifts and compliments.

Note 2. The passage referred to occurs in the *Continuation of the History of England* (iv, 126). In the same passage Smollett atoned for former attacks by complimenting the abilities of Akenside, Fielding, and Lyttleton. Moreover, in the *Critical Review* for June, 1761, had appeared an article on Garrick's *Fribbleriad* which was highly commendatory.

Note 3. Smollett wrote to Wilkes in Letter 43 that he was conscious of a sore throat and a capricious constitution. That was in April, 1759. Now, less than three years later, he speaks of his ill health as a state normal for him.

Letter 54, Page 73

The MS. of this letter is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 30.877 f. 18). The letter was quoted in part in the *Memoir* of Smollett in the 1777 edition of his *Plays and Poems*. It was printed in full, with sarcastic comments on the falseness of Smollett's pretences to friendship, by Wilkes's friend John Almon, in his *Correspondence of John Wilkes* (1805), i, 50, and has since been reprinted by Anderson (i, 77) and Chambers (119).

Note 1. John Almon (see note above) pointed out that within a few months of this expression of eternal regard Smollett was to attack Wilkes in the *Briton* (no. ix, July 24, 1762), as "a venal fool, as void of principle as talent, who, like a mercenary Swiss, would draw his pen on either side of any dispute as he happened to be listed, without the least regard to the merits of the cause in which he embarks."

The contrast in sentiment is indeed startling. But without becoming Smollett's apologist, or defending his language, one may consider this letter as a reasonably clear indication that its writer wished to remain on friendly terms with Wilkes in spite of their political differences, which must have been apparent since the Toryism of Smollett's *History* and *Continuation*. One might show that since Smollett's *Briton* was first merely a defence of Bute, the very name — *North Briton* — which Wilkes took for *his* periodical indicated a definite intention of badgering his former friend. Finally, one might show that the abuse of Wilkes in the *Briton*, quoted above, did not appear until after Wilkes had poured forth a torrent of abuse, both witty and slanderous, on the Scots as a nation and on Smollett in particular. Considering Smollett's ill health, his choleric nature, and his ardent patriotism, one may conclude that he would naturally resent such attacks from an old friend whom he, as this letter shows, had tried to conciliate. Without condoning Smollett's language, a reader of the *Briton* and the *North Briton* in their proper sequence can see that the mud-throwing was begun by Wilkes.

Note 2. I do not know the nature of the packet which was sent with this letter for Wilkes's correction. Anderson says (i, 77) that Wilkes had sent Smollett an advance copy

of his anonymously printed *Observations on the Papers Relative to the Rupture with Spain*, a powerful apology for Pitt, who had just resigned. If, as is possible, Smollett's packet was one of the numerous pamphlets on the opposing side, this letter becomes more clearly still an announcement of the final parting of the ways. I have been able to discover no further correspondence between Wilkes and Smollett except the angry retorts in the columns of the *Briton* and *North Briton*.

Letter 55, Page 73

The MS. of this letter is now at Cameron. The text has not hitherto been published, and appears here through the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett.

Note 1. Mr. Holt remains unidentified.

Note 2. I have found nothing further about the Messrs. Amre, save the reference in Letter 57.

Note 3. For Dr. Stevenson, see Letter 24, Note 7.

Note 4. For Barclay, see Letter 3.

Note 5. For Urie, see Letter 16, Note 1.

Letter 56, Page 74

This letter was printed in an article entitled "Tobias Smollett and William Hunter," contributed to the *British Medical Journal* (October 22, 1904) by Victor G. Plarr, M.A., Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Letters 58 and 61 are from the same source. I have not seen the MSS, but Mr. Plarr says, "we transcribe exactly."

Note 1. Dr. William Hunter (1718–1783), in whose behalf Smollett had waged war concerning certain anatomical discoveries with Dr. Alexander Monro (*Critical Review*, 1756–1757, *passim*). Dr. William and his brother, Dr. John, were conspicuous examples of Scottish physicians who achieved fame and fortune in the rather unfriendly environment of eighteenth-century London. William, the older, was in 1762 consulted by Queen Charlotte, and two years later received an appointment as Physician Extraordinary. He founded the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.

Note 2. Mr. Plarr, in the article mentioned above, correctly interprets this as a reference to Mrs. Smollett's Jamaican property. The letter is undated, but assigned by Mr. Plarr to the year 1762, apparently on the evidence of Letter 58 which acknowledges the receipt of a loan in that year. Since Smollett's expectations from Jamaica were more pronounced at a considerably earlier period (see Letters 23, 26, written in 1756), it is possible that he may have applied more than once to Hunter, and that this letter was written at that earlier time. It will be noticed that Smollett's application is for "eight or ten pieces"; Hunter's loan was fifty pounds. Such a discrepancy might be explained, of course, by the generosity of the donor; and lacking specific evidence, I prefer to retain for this letter the date assigned.

Letter 57, Page 75

About one third of this letter was printed by Irving, p. 20. The MS. is now at Cameron, and the full text appears here through the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett. New material is enclosed within parentheses.

Note 1. I have not been able to identify Mr. Richardson.

Note 2. See Letter 55.

Note 3. Dr. Moore, in his own *Life of Smollett*, neither published this letter nor gave a hint as to the nature of the remedy he had suggested.

Note 4. This "Presentment" was erroneous: Smollett revisited Scotland in 1766, though then in very bad health.

Note 5. Smollett's belief in the efficacy of exercise and the cold tub was exceedingly firm, and, I believe, he was one of the earliest writers to preach this system consistently, not only in his medical pamphlet, but in his novels. It was Mrs. Pickle's somewhat Spartan use of cold water which gave to Peregrine his sturdy constitution. Matthew Bramble's plunge into the sea at Scarborough proved beneficial to himself, if not to Humphry Clinker. That Smollett practised the custom, when his "indolence" did not prevent him, is indicated by Letter 62, as well as by various passages in the *Travels*.

Note 6. This opportunity was granted in 1766. See Letter 67.

Letter 58, Page 77

This letter was published in the *British Medical Journal* for October 22, 1904 (see introductory note to Letter 56).

Note 1. According to Mr. Plarr, from whose article this letter is taken, the "mark of Friendship" was a gift of fifty pounds, Hunter's response to the appeal in Smollett's previous letter (56). Mr. Plarr states that at the foot of the present letter (58) is, in Smollett's handwriting, a formal promise to pay this sum, on demand. Smollett, that is, was

unwilling to look on the sum as a gift. There is an endorsement on the MS., as follows:

"London 13th. May 1766. In case of my death I desire my executors will not make any demand upon Dr. Smollet, because I sent the money to him as a present, never meaning to take it again. (Signed) William Hunter."

It is pleasant to record this passage of friendship, and to show that Scots may be generous as well as thrifty!

Note 2. The details of this journey have not previously been known.

Note 3. No doubt this person was the Dr. George Macaulay to whom so many of Smollett's letters were written. See Note 1, Letter 13, and Note 4, below.

Note 4. William Pitcairn, M.D. (1711–1791), was from 1750 to 1790 Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and from 1775 to 1785 President of the College of Physicians. He was another Scot whose success as a London doctor was marked. His intimacy with the Hunters is shown by the following quotation from a letter written by John to William Hunter, dated Belleisle, September 28, 1761:

"Please to give my best respects to . . . Drs. Pitcairn, Smollet, Pringle, and Macauly." *

Letter 59, Page 78

The MS. of this letter is now in the possession of R. B. Adam, Esq., of Buffalo, N. Y., to whose kindness and that of Professor C. B. Tinker I owe a copy. The letter has not been published.

* S. Paget, *John Hunter* (N. Y., 1897), p. 76.

Note 1. John Home (1722–1808) was minister of Athelstaneford, author of *Douglas*, *Agis*, and other tragedies, and later close friend and private secretary to the Earl of Bute. This office he held when the present letter was written. Smollett probably met Home in 1749, on the latter's trip to London to try to secure the production of *Agis* by Garrick. An unfavorable review of *Douglas* in the *Critical* caused Smollett some anxiety (see Letter 31, Note 3); but if Home had any ill feelings as a result of this treatment, they were probably appeased by the news that Smollett had not written the article, or by an extremely favorable notice of *Agis* in the same periodical for March, 1758. A letter from Home to Dr. Alexander Carlyle, stating his pleasure in Smollett's company, was published in H. Mackenzie's *Works of John Home* (Edinburgh, 1822), i, 132, but is dated only November 6. From the context I judge that it was written in 1749, and that Dr. Carlyle had introduced the two men. I suspect, though I have no proof, that it was Home who persuaded Smollett to conduct the *Briton*, in behalf of the Earl of Bute's administration. This paper had already been running for six months at the time when Letter 59 was written. It must have been obvious by December, however, that the task of popularizing the hated Scotch minister was beyond Smollett's power, especially in the face of the opposition of Wilkes and Churchill, and in this letter Smollett does not even refer to the periodical.

Note 2. Whether a definite promise of a pension, in reward for his efforts for the ministry, had ever been made to Smollett, or not, this letter is proof that there was talk about it. It is a tribute to Smollett's independence of spirit that in spite of his illness he disliked the idea of a pension. But it was perhaps untactful to speak about it in this fash-

ion to Home, who was receiving a pension of three hundred pounds a year. As a result of his laudable preference of a consulship — for which he was undoubtedly qualified — to a pension, Smollett got neither.

Note 3. See Letter 45, Note 4.

Note 4. Richard Wall (1694–1778) was an Irish gentleman who won fame and fortune in the Spanish court. He was ambassador in London from 1748 to 1752 (*D. N. B.*), when Smollett must have met him, as the translation of *Don Quixote*, which appeared in 1755, was dedicated "to his excellency Don Ricardo Wall." A further compliment to Wall appeared in the *History of England* (ed. 1760, xii, 86).

Note 5. Although, during Pitt's administration, Smollett refused the consulship at Nice, Anderson prints two letters showing that he later made efforts to obtain that office: one from Hume to Smollett, dated July 18, 1767, and another from the Earl of Shelburne to the Duchess of Hamilton, refusing her application in Smollett's behalf, on the ground of previous applicants. This note is undated, but belongs to the same year, no doubt.* The "beautiful duchess" had probably been interested in Smollett through his friend, Dr. William Hunter, her physician.

Note 6. The caution with which it was necessary to proceed in this matter is indicated by Smollett's erasure of the words "of Bute," which are faintly legible.

Note 7. Smollett never received this post. From the evidence in this letter and in Note 5 above it is clear that he had hopes of a consulship from Pitt in 1758–1760, from Bute in 1762, and from Shelburne in 1767. His repeated disappointments no doubt had the effect of increasing the

* Anderson, i, 183.

fury with which he satirized both political parties in the *Adventures of an Atom* (1769). Why Bute failed to reward him remains a question. Possibly it was through pique at the failure of the *Briton*, or at Smollett's refusal to accept a pension, which was good enough for Home and Samuel Johnson.

Letter 60, Page 80

The original of this letter is now in the Dreer Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in the catalogue of which it has been published. The letter has appeared in print a great many times, as witnessed by the following publications: the *Portfolio*, a Philadelphia magazine, February 7, 1801; the *European Magazine*, London, 1804; Anderson (i, 170); the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1859; Chambers, and *Notes and Queries* (Fifth Series, i, 384).

Note 1. Richard Smith (1735–1803) was Recorder of Burlington, N. J., provincial councillor for New Jersey, and a delegate to the Continental Congress, from which he resigned in 1776. Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States* adds (vii, 135) that he carried on "an extensive correspondence with Dr. Tobias Smollett." If this is true, I have failed to find other letters.

Note 2. The biographical value of this brief statement of his own career is lessened by its omission of dates. What, for example, did Smollett mean by "very young"? The exact date of his marriage has not been established, so far as I can discover. See Letter 3 and Notes. His disclaimer of having ever experienced the low situations in which he exhibited Roderick is, however, a warning needed by those who would interpret too literally his fictions as matters of fact.

Note 3. James Rivington, publisher of Smollett's *History*, had emigrated to Philadelphia (see Letter 23, Note 2), and would naturally be in a position to inform Mr. Smith about Smollett's labors with that work.

Note 4. Smollett left for France in June, 1763, about a month after the date of this letter.

Note 5. The preceding letter to Home (59) would at first seem a refutation of this statement, as it was an indirect application for a place. But its independence of tone has already received comment (Letter 59, Note 2), and it was not the sort of search for a sinecure which Smollett meant to imply by this sentence.

Note 6. This list of productions has some striking omissions. The two early satires, *Advice* and *Reproof*, are not included, nor is the *Briton*, which had been discontinued only some three months previous to the date of this letter. Another omission is *The Reprisal.* As his authorship of all these productions was fairly well known at the time, I incline to think that he simply forgot to list them.

Note 7. The Present State of All Nations appeared in 1768, as "Printed for R. Baldwin," who must have bought Rivington's rights.

Note 8. The *London Magazine* for May, 1763, notes the death, on April 3, of "Miss Elizabeth Smollett, daughter of Dr. Smollett." This was a final blow: ill health, worry, overwork, the reviling of the Whigs, and the ingratitude of Bute had already troubled him, but it was not until his daughter's death that he left his work. It is small wonder his *Travels* seemed, to those unaware of all the circumstances, the work of a bitter and pessimistic man.

Note 9. This reference to the services which Smollett

had tried to do the colonists may allude to various passages in which he eulogized their character and actions. See his *History of England* (ed. 1760, xi, 210; xii, 214 ff.), and volume viii of *The Present State of All Nations, passim.*

Letter 61, Page 83

This letter was printed in the *British Medical Journal* for October 22, 1904 (see introductory note to Letter 56).

Note 1. The scrupulousness which this hope reveals is attested by the formal promise to pay appended to Letter 56 (see Note 1), and by the state of mind shown in all of Smollett's begging letters. It never ceased to be a blow to his pride to be compelled thus to seek assistance, and the letters are evidence of his sincere purpose to repay such favors.

Note 2. Elizabeth Smollett died April 3, 1763.

Note 3. This is that mysterious Mr. Hamilton, no doubt, for whom Smollett had sought assistance in Letters 26, 27, and 46.

Note 4. Dr. William Hunter's career might be used as proof that Smollett's prayers for others, if not for himself, were granted. His appointment as Physician Extraordinary came the following year, and he ended his life full of days and honors.

Note 5. Jermyn Street still runs parallel with Piccadilly, from St. James Street to Haymarket. Dr. William Hunter resided there from about 1751 to 1770, after which his brother occupied the same house.* Apparently Smollett

* G. R. Mather, *Two Great Scotsmen, the Brothers William and John Hunter* (Glasgow, 1893), p. 56.

wrote and left this letter at Hunter's residence; he himself did not reside in Jermyn Street.

Note 6. The allusion in this Postscript is to the coolness which existed between the brothers William and John for some time. Smollett seems to have been fond of both (see Letters 58 and 63), and thus appears here in the — to him — unfamiliar rôle of peacemaker.

Letter 62, Page 84

This letter was printed in *Notes and Queries* for April, 1880 (sixth series, i, 330). It was sent in by Austin Dobson, with a statement that the original was in Mr. Locker's collection. I have not found the MS.

Note 1. Dobson thus identified Reid: "Smollett's correspondent was probably the Alexander Reid, who in 1764, edited *The Elements of Surgery* of Samuel Mihlis. He also wrote medical works, and may have been Smollett's professional adviser." To this I can add, from the British Museum Catalogue, that he was Surgeon to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea at about this time, and translated from the French of LeDran a book of *Consultations on Most of the Disorders that Require the Assistance of Surgery*, which was published in 1766. This volume was favorably reviewed in the *Critical* for October of that year, and, as Smollett had by that time returned from abroad, it is possible that he wrote the notice.

Note 2. Paradise Row, now Queen's Road, West, leads diagonally down to the Thames bank. It was not far from Smollett's home in Lawrence Street, and still nearer the famous old Swan Inn on the river bank, which is mentioned in the last paragraph of this letter.

Note 3. See Letter 60, Note 8.

Note 4. Dobson notes that Smollett's stay in Boulogne was longer than he anticipated in this letter, for his last writing from that place in the *Travels* is dated September 12, 1763.

Note 5. It seems strange to read a complaint of a lack of delicacy in the French from the author of the *Adventures of an Atom*. Smollett would have undoubtedly pointed out that the coarseness and brutality in his fiction was there for a satiric purpose, in order to effect a return to that delicacy which he personally so prized. Compare his comment on Armstrong's table manners in Letter 43, and Matthew Bramble's general attitude, in *Humphry Clinker*.

Note 6. Wilton I cannot safely identify, although he may have been the sculptor Joseph Wilton (1722–1803), who was a popular person, likely to have belonged to such a club, as well as a friend of Dr. Johnson's (*D. N. B.*).

Note 7. A Dr. Thomas Russel, who had a taste for poetry, may have been this friend of Smollett's. In 1765 he published *Two Pastoral Poems*, etc., in Edinburgh, and in 1767 an edition of *Elegies*, by Thomas Russel, M.D., was brought out by Cadell in London. This last production received a moderately favorable notice in the *Critical* for March, 1767, with which, if my surmise is correct, Smollett might have had something to do.

Note 8. See Note 2, above. Apparently this was the meeting place of an informal club to which Smollett and the others mentioned belonged. It is possible, however, from the previous mention of the French Masons, that "our Brotherhood" may refer to a Masonic lodge in Chelsea. If so, Smollett's membership in that order may help ex-

plain his earlier connection with the Drummonds, who were prominent Masons. See Letter 13, Notes 2 and 3.

Note 9. I have not identified Halford.

Letter 63, Page 86

The MS. of this hitherto unpublished letter is now in the possession of Professor C. B. Tinker, to whose generosity I am indebted for the text.

Note 1. See Letter 46, Note 9. According to G. T. Bellamy, in the *D. N. B.*, "as investigator, original thinker, and stimulator of thought, John Hunter stands at the head of British surgeons." In 1762 Dr. Hunter had accompanied the British army in Portugal in order to learn more about gunshot wounds; in 1786 he was made Surgeon General. His literary as well as scientific interests are evidenced by his collection of books, to which Smollett alludes in this letter.

Note 2. Francis Seymour Conway (1719–1794), whose secretary was David Hume, was the Earl of Hertford who assisted Smollett to recover his books. He was at this time ambassador to France.

Note 3. Richard Neville Aldworth Neville (1717–1793), secretary to the embassy at Paris while the Duke of Bedford was ambassador, substituted there as plenipotentiary until the arrival of the Earl of Hertford.

Note 4. As we are informed by the second letter of the *Travels*, Smollett had been much distressed because his books were seized by the customs officials in Boulogne, in spite of his protests, and sent to Amiens to be examined by the *chambre syndicale*, lest they should contain something prejudicial to the state or the religion of France.

Note 5. See Letter 57, Note 5.

Note 6. For an account of the life and character of General Paterson, see the *Travels*, Letters III and XIV, where he is called "Mr. P——n." I have been able to discover nothing further.

Letter 64, Page 88

The MS. of this letter is now in the Hunter-Baillie Collection in the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London. I am indebted for a copy to the courtesy of the Librarian, Victor G. Plarr, Esq., who informs me that excerpts from the letter have appeared in "the Scotch papers" — transcribed from his article on William Hunter in *Chambers's Journal*, Jan. 1, 1906.

Note 1. One of the interesting features of this letter is that its subject-matter was largely used in the *Travels*, though rearranged and rephrased for publication. A comparison of this letter with those numbered XI, XII, XIII, and XXIV of the *Travels* will throw light on the method of composition of that work.

Note 2. Dr. Fitzmorrice is favorably mentioned in *Travels*, Letter XI.

Note 3. For a complete account of Smollett's consultation with Dr. Fizes, see *Travels*, Letter XI, in which the French physician is satirically referred to as "the great professor F——."

Note 4. Herman Boerhaave, the famous Dutch physician, whose life was written by Samuel Johnson in 1739.

Note 5. The original papers were printed in *Travels*, Letter XI.

Note 6. Reference has already been made (Letter 57, Note 5) to Smollett's firm belief in the efficacy of exercise as a remedy for his own ailments. He was therefore impressed unfavorably by Dr. Fizes's failure to recommend it. On the other hand, there is evidence that Dr. Fizes was correct in his diagnosis of his choleric patient's case, as well as in his prescriptions for it. A full discussion of this affair is given in the Introduction to the World's Classics edition of the *Travels*, pp. xxxiii ff.

Note 7. In Letters V and XII of the *Travels* Smollett mentioned a Mr. M—— who is evidently the Mr. Mayne here described. In the later passage, dated December 6, 1763, he prophesied that Mr. M—— could not recover, and maintained that his own illness was of a different nature from that of his fellow sufferer. Hence his perhaps hasty assumption that Dr. Fizes prescribed according to set formulae, whatever the disease.

Note 8. This reference to Dr. Macaulay makes certain the fact that Letter XII of the *Travels* was originally addressed to that gentleman. It describes in detail Smollett's "situation" at Nice.

Note 9. This enthusiastic description of the climate, flora, and history of Nice will be found, in a revised form, in Letter XIII of the *Travels*.

Note 10. That Smollett succumbed to this temptation to make a tour in Italy every reader of the *Travels* knows. It lasted twice as long, however, as he anticipated, as he left Nice early in September, and did not return for two months.

Note 11. "Jock" was Dr. John Hunter, brother of Dr. William.

Note 12. See Letter 58, Note 4.

Note 13. Thomas Dickson, M.D. (1726–84), another of the group of Scots who were conspicuously successful in the practice of medicine in London. See W. Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (1878), p. 260, and *Autobiography*, *passim*.

Note 14. This rather grim desire alludes to Dr. William Hunter's passion for collecting anatomical specimens.

Note 15. The visit to the old amphitheatre was repeated (see *Travels*, Letters XII and XVI); on the second occasion Smollett showed his interest in accuracy by measuring the ruin with packthread.

Note 16. The queer assemblage of animals evidently impressed Smollett greatly, for he mentioned it twice in the *Travels* (Letters VIII and XIII).

Letter 65, Page 94

This letter was printed, in part, in Irving, p. 20. The MS. is now at Cameron, and the full text here given is due to the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett. New material is enclosed within parentheses.

Note 1. I have no identification of Mr. Williams beyond that given in this letter.

Note 2. The last letter of the *Travels* is dated June 13, 1765, from Boulogne, so that Smollett could not have been long in London when he wrote this letter to Moore.

Note 3. The following Letter 66 is dated from Bath, November 13. The exile of which he speaks was to come, and to be final.

Note 4. William Leechman (1706–1785) was Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow, a very popular and influential lecturer. See Dr. Carlyle's *Autobiography*, pp. 67 ff.

Note 5. Brewers Street by Golden Square was to have some fame later on as the spot where Ralph Nickleby had his office. In Chapter II of *Nicholas Nickleby* Dickens describes it as "one of the squares that have been." A century earlier it was doubtless not so desolate. At least, Smollett made his fastidious Jerry Melford not dissatisfied with it: "We lodge in Golden Square, at the house of one Mrs. Norton, a decent sort of woman, who takes great pains to make us all easy." * If this passage is, as I suppose, autobiographical, we have the name of Smollett's landlady, and evidence that he delighted to advertise her qualifications.

Letter 66, Page 95

This letter was printed, in part, by Irving, p. 19. The MS. is now at Cameron, and the full text, here given, is due to the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett. New material is enclosed within parentheses.

Note 1. I cannot identify Duncan Niven.

Note 2. See the preceding letter, Note 1.

Note 3. The other literary systems to which he here alludes must have been the *British Magazine* and the *Modern Part* of the *Universal History*, which was still in process of production.

Note 4. These articles in the *Critical* have never been identified. Presumably they were written between July and

* *Humphry Clinker*, Jerry Melford's letter of May 24.

October of 1765. The only piece in the magazine which I feel fairly sure was done by Smollett during that period is an article in the September, 1765, number on *The Mid-Wife's Pocket Companion*, which deals with a subject on which Smollett was an authority, and mentions Dr. Smellie's treatise, which he had prepared for the press. See Letter 16, Note 3. In the *British Magazine* for July, 1765, there is an essay, signed S., entitled "Observations on the natural Fondness of Mankind for History," which, from internal evidence, I should incline to attribute to Smollett.

His connection with the *Critical* was so well known that the general public could not be persuaded that his activities in that periodical had ceased. In 1767 George Canning, whose translation of *Anti-Lucretius* had been roughly handled by the reviewers, published a pamphlet with the following ironical dedication:

"To Tobias Smollett, M.D. Uniformly tenacious of the Principles he was nursed in — famous for His stories, Histories, and His continued Continuations of His Complete Histories, as the Single Personage with whom the unnamed putters-together of the Critical Review Utterly disclaim all manner of connection, (Graceless Rogues! — Disown their Father!) the ensuing Tractate is with singular propriety most cordially inscribed by it's Author." *

In the same way, Philip Thicknesse, whose *Useful Hints to those who make a Tour of France* was published in 1768, combined his attacks on Smollett's *Travels* with those on the *Review*, implying the continued connection between Smollett and that magazine to such an extent that the *Crit-*

* G. Canning, *An Appeal to the Publick, from the Malicious Misrepresentations of the Critical Review*, 1767, after title-page.

ical reviewers, in their April number, felt called upon to deny the allegation.

Note 5. The *Travels* were advertised in the *St. James Chronicle* for May 8–10, 1766, as "This Day Published." Although Smollett, in this letter, seems uncertain of their reception, they had an excellent and long-continued sale. They were almost immediately pirated by an Irish publisher (Robert Johnston, of Belfast). In spite of the attacks made on them by Thicknesse (see preceding note) and Sterne (see *A Sentimental Journey*, *passim*), or perhaps because of this unconscious advertising, the public has called for many editions, of which the best is number 90 of the *World's Classics*, with its excellent introduction by Thomas Seccombe.

Note 6. This diagnosis agrees exactly with the well-known one in Latin which Smollett sent to Dr. F—— of Montpellier, and which is recorded in Letter XI of the *Travels*. The length at which he discusses his symptoms and treatments in this letter and its successor may be pardoned in view of the fact that he, a doctor, was writing to a doctor, and did not expect publication!

Note 7. The South Parade at Bath was in a fashionable quarter of that fashionable city. It leads from what is now Manvers Street to the Avon, and had, in 1765, in front, a garden enclosed by a handsome stone balustrade skirted by a walk. See R. E. M. Peach, *Street-Lore of Bath* (1893), p. 104. If we may believe Jerry Melford's account, the lodgings were on the first floor, and the entrance of the family into them, the occasion of much uproar.*

* *Humphry Clinker*, Jerry Melford's letter of April 24.

Letter 67, Page 98

This letter was printed, in part, in Moore (i, clxxv), and copied by Anderson (i, 89 f.). The original MS. is now at Cameron, and the full text, here given, is due to the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett. New material is enclosed within parentheses.

Note 1. In the interval of a year and a half between this letter and the one preceding it, Smollett had made a long visit to Scotland, to which he refers here and later. Moore, in his *Life* (i, clxxiv), thus comments on his guest's appearance:

"I had never before seen Smollett but in the bloom of health, of a vigorous make, an elegant form, and agreeable countenance; and was much affected by the dismal alteration which had now taken place in his face and person. . . . These disorders confined him much to his chamber, but did not prevent his conversation being highly entertaining when he joined society."

Note 2. Commissary Smollett was that James of Bonhill, the cousin to whom Letter 22 was written.

Note 3. I have no further information regarding the unfortunate but dauntless Mrs. Macarthur, or her husband.

Note 4. Craignish is a small place on the peninsula north of Jura Sound, in Argyleshire, nineteen miles from Inverary; its population in Lippincott's *Gazetteer* for 1893 was given as 481. I have been able to discover nothing about its status in 1767, or its Laird, Smollett's cousin.

Note 5. I cannot further identify Dr. Young.

Note 6. See the quotation from Moore in Note 1, above.

Note 7. A Dr. John Middleton published, in 1727, *A Short Essay on the Operation of Lithotomy*, according to the British Museum Catalogue. I can find no other trace of him.

Note 8. Dr. Samuel Sharp (1700–1778) was for some years the most prominent London surgeon. He was the predecessor of William Hunter in the conduct of a course of lectures on anatomy, the author of several medical treatises, and after a tour to Italy in 1765, of *Letters from Italy*, which affords an interesting comparison with Smollett's *Travels*. Sharp was even more disgusted with Italian inns than Smollett had been, and expressed his dislike of the country so freely that in 1767 Joseph Baretti was moved to reply, in *An Account of Manners and Customs of Italy*. Sharp's book was favorably reviewed by the *Critical* for October, 1766. The reviewer considered it as of value almost equal to Smollett's *Travels*, and made the following comment: "Both performances are written on the same principles, and tend to the same end, viz. that of dispelling the clouds of prepossession and prejudice, which . . . have so long induced the good people of this island to squander their time and money in Italy."

Note 9. From Moore's comment, quoted in Note 1 above, Smollett could not have been so unpleasant a guest as he supposed himself.

Note 10. Moore's brother-in-law, "Mr. Simpson," son of the Professor of Divinity, was a banker, of the firm of Baird & Simson, and, like Moore, a member of the Hodge-Podge Club. See Note 12, below.

Note 11. For Dr. Stevenson, see Letter 24, Note 7.

Note 12. Of Dr. Colin Douglas I can find no information except that contained in one of Moore's quatrains on his fellow members of the Hodge-Podge Club. I quote this and its fellow, which describes Moore's brother-in-law, from J. Strang's *Glasgow and its Club*, pp. 50, 51:

> Despising all airs, detesting all art,
> The thought bursts spontaneous from Douglas's heart.
> Of the dregs of his vigour the best let us make,
> He may do for a leech, though he's done for a rake.
>
> He's followed by Simson, so lean and so lank;
> You'd know, by his looks, there's a run on the bank:
> Ah! why thy bag-wig dost thou shake at me so,
> Thou canst not say I did it, ghostly Banco?

Note 13. For Robin Urie, see Letter 16, Note 1.

Note 14. Gay-Street, completed in 1762, runs from Queen Square to The Circus. It was nearer the centre of the town, and farther from the river than the doctor's earlier lodgings in the South Parade. John Wood, the architect of so many of Bath's notable buildings in the eighteenth century, lived on Gay-Street, and at a somewhat later date so did the famous Mrs. Piozzi.*

Letter 68, Page 101

The MS. of this letter is now in the Hunter-Baillie Collection in the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London. I am indebted for a copy to the courtesy of the Librarian, Victor G. Plarr, Esq. See introductory note to Letter 64.

* Ward, Lock & Co.'s *Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Bath* (n. d.), p. 110; R. E. M. Peach, *Street-Lore of Bath, passim.*

Note 1. Dr. William Hunter resided in Jermyn Street from 1751 to 1770, after which the same house served as residence for his brother John. See G. R. Mather's *Two Great Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1893), p. 56, *et passim.*

Note 2. I have not identified all the attacks in the public papers mentioned by Smollett. A letter signed Philodites in the *London Chronicle* for June 17–19, 1766, is doubtless one to which he refers. A dispute was being carried on, in the columns of that paper, concerning the personal courage or cowardice of the Pretender. The following quotation will indicate the writer's attitude toward Smollett:

"If the *Friend to Truth* has read S——t's account of the transactions at Culloden, He has but little reason to believe that the Historian's view was to do Honour, or even justice to the Duke of Cumberland. . . . What security can we have for the veracity of such a writer? Unless perhaps our *Friend to Truth* will appeal to a certain Pension, conferred (as is likely enough when we consider times and circumstances) for the Dr.'s *Historical* Services."

The implication was that Smollett had received a pension from Bute as a reward for displaying Bonnie Prince Charlie in the most favorable light. Another letter over the same signature in the same paper for September 27–30, 1766, speaks of "so many gross falsehoods" in Smollett's *History*. On October 9 of the same year a letter signed Oeconomicus took Smollett to task for discrepancies in his remarks on liquor, since in the *History* he bemoaned the tax on beer (1759) and in the *Travels* (Letter XXXIX) stated his conviction that "wine and all fermented liquors are pernicious to the human constitution." Oeconomicus satirically concluded that "S——t the Physician and S——t the Politi-

cian are as opposite in their sentiments as the two poles." Such attacks as these must have been galling.

Note 3. Henry Seymour Conway (1721–95) was the brother of that Marquis of Hertford who aided Smollett to recover his books from the French Government (Letter 63, Note 2). He was a friend and cousin of Horace Walpole, and a distinguished officer and statesman. In 1765 he was Secretary of State for the Southern Department in Rockingham's administration, and continued in that office when Pitt came back to power in the next year.

Note 4. Dr. Macaulay, Smollett's helper in his financial difficulties, died in 1766.

Note 5. Mrs. Macaulay held radical notions about government. She might have said, with Charlotte Corday, that she was a republican before the revolution, and never wanted energy. See numerous references in Boswell's *Life*, and *D. N. B.*, art. Catherine Macaulay. Smollett was naturally interested in the later career of the widow of his old friend, especially since she, too, was an historian. Vol. I of her *History of England* appeared in 1763. See Letter 70, Note 12.

Letter 69, Page 103

This letter was printed in J. H. Burton's *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* (ii, 418), with a statement that the MS. was in the possession of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. I have, however, a card from G. A. Stewart, Esq., Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, dated July 26, 1923, stating: "We do not possess any Smollett MSS." I have been unable to trace the present location of the manuscript.

Note 1. David Hume (1711–1776), historian and philosopher, the most famous Scottish man of letters of his day, had been acquainted with Smollett long before this letter was written. Carlyle, Home, Robertson, Millar, Strahan — their friends in common were many, but I cannot say through which one they met. Smollett's anxiety to disclaim authorship of the article in the *Critical* which disapproved of Home's *Douglas* (see Letter 31) may have come in part from the fact that the article began by making fun of Hume's extreme praise of that tragedy. This was in 1757. Two years later, Hume knew Smollett well enough for his letter in praise of Wilkie's *Epigoniad* to be used as the article in the *Critical* which noticed the second edition of that epic (see Letter 34, Note 3). In 1763 Hume, then secretary to the Earl of Hertford, had assisted Smollett in getting his books through the French customs (see *Travels*, Letter IV, in which Hume's initials are used). Finally, in 1767 Hume was one of those interested in attempting to procure for Smollett the consulship at Nice (see Letter 59, Note 5).

I have mentioned these details to show that the friendship between the two men, so different in temperament and in fortune, was of long standing, in spite of the fact that but one letter of Smollett's to Hume has survived.

Note 2. Captain Robert Stobo (1727–?) is thought to have been the prototype of Lieutenant Obadiah Lismahago, in *Humphry Clinker*. Although the short *Memoir of Major Robert Stobo*, by Neville B. Craig, published in Pittsburgh in 1854, carries him through only the earlier part of his adventures, he certainly had some that were similar to Lismahago's. Both were officers in the British army in America; both were captured by the Indians, although there

is, unfortunately, no analogue in the case of the real Stobo to the beauteous Squinkinakoosta of Lismahago's espousal; both were captured by the French, and both escaped to England. One interesting thing about Stobo is that, after emigrating from Glasgow to Virginia, he saw service with Washington at Fort Necessity. His adventures, as detailed by Craig in a more than Ossianic style, make exceedingly amusing reading.

Hume's reply to this letter, printed in Anderson (i, 184), is rather noncommittal, as far as his assistance to Stobo is concerned, but admits his pleasure in Stobo's company and stories of extraordinary experiences.

Note 3. These compliments were not undeserved, and that Hume appreciated them, as coming from Smollett, is shown by his extremely friendly note in reply (see Note 2 above).

Note 4. As a graceful ending to his letter, Smollett quotes from Vergil (Ecl. i, 4, 5): "I fly from my native land: you, O Tityrus, at ease in the shade, teach the forest to resound with the name of the lovely Amaryllis." This, of course, is in reference to Smollett's "exile" in search of health.

Letter 70, Page 104

This letter was printed first by Moore (i, clxxxv ff.), later by Anderson (i, 92), and still later by W. A. S. Hewins in *Whitefoord Papers* (Oxford, 1898), p. 149. The MS. is now at Cameron, and, thanks to the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett, I have been able to copy it. An excellent MS. copy, apparently contemporary, and listed in 1923 as an original, is in the British Museum (Add. MSS 36.593 f. 83).

Note 1. Caleb Whitefoord (1734–1810), wine merchant and litterateur, was a person well known in the literary and political circles of his day. He has three claims to fame: (1) he was a good friend of Goldsmith's, and thus received a delightful epitaph in *Retaliation;* (2) through his friendship with Benjamin Franklin he was made secretary to Richard Oswald (see Letter 9, Note 1), and thus helped to conclude the peace treaty with the United States, at Versailles; and (3) he provided a great deal of more or less innocent amusement in his time by inventing the art of cross-reading. This consisted of reading a newspaper, not down, but across the columns. Thus two lines on entirely different topics often fitted together ludicrously, to make such a statement as the following:

> "Elop'd from her husband, Mary the wife of Simon
> A light dun, with a black mane and tail." *

However such pastimes may be considered at present, the eighteenth century thought highly of cross-reading: Goldsmith is said to have sworn that he would rather have been the author of Whitefoord's performances in this way than of anything he himself had written, and the Great Cham, Dr. Johnson, commended them.†

How Smollett and Whitefoord became acquainted, I do not know; as both were Scots, they doubtless had many friends in common, such as Dr. Armstrong.

Note 2. For Dr. Armstrong, see Letter 43, Note 6.

Note 3. Whitefoord published a great many political squibs, either anonymously or under a pseudonym, usually in the *Public Advertiser*, with whose proprietor, H. S.

* *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit* (1786), ii, 212.

† Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, iv, 372 n.

Woodfall, he carried on an extensive correspondence (see *Whitefoord Papers*, ed. W. A. S. Hewins). As these have never, so far as I know, been collected, I am unable to identify the "Fourteen" to which Smollett here refers.

Note 4. This is a reference to Wilkes, the slogan of whose followers was "Wilkes and Liberty," and probably, more specifically, to the popular excitement created by Wilkes's expulsion from Parliament. Smollett's opposition to Wilkes's politics has already been noticed (see Letter 54, Note 1).

Note 5. Although Lord North's ministry came into power in January, 1770, I believe that the administration here alluded to by Smollett was the previous one, headed by Grafton.

Note 6. This reference to Bute's stoicism, which Smollett would have been the last person to understand, is an echo, far more politely expressed, of his idea in a notorious passage in the *Adventures of an Atom*, which I forbear to quote. (See Anderson, vi, 550.)

Note 7. The first Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1768, may have been the "late Nobleman" here mentioned. Smollett presumably met him when endeavoring to repatriate Hunter of Burnside (see Letter 8, Notes 2 and 5).

Note 8. Mr. Hewins, editor of *Whitefoord Papers*, suggested that Mr. Udney was a Robert Udny, F. R. S. and F. S. A. There was, however, a John Udney, "sometime Consul at Leghorn," who was a friend of Horace Walpole, who seems more likely to have been the person here mentioned. I can find nothing further about him except that he was intimate enough with Walpole to have received "half a buck" from that epicure.*

* *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, xiv, 265; xv, 366.

Note 9. Monte Nero, the mountain on the slope of which Smollett resided, was described by Dr. Armstrong, in *A Short Ramble Through Some Parts of France and Italy, by Lancelot Temple, Esq.* (1771), p. 51, as a delightful spot. Armstrong mentioned enjoying "above a fortnight of domestic happiness with a worthy old friend . . . who lived . . . on the side of Monte Nero, a romantic mountain, which affords a great variety of situation to a number of little valleys, and looks over the sea, at about the distance of four English miles from Leghorn."

Note 10. I cannot identify "Old Slyboots" except by the guess that this was a nickname given by Whitefoord, in one of his squibs, to some contemporary politician. It fits a number of persons.

Note 11. "Junius" has never been identified, though many in Smollett's day thought, as he did, that Burke was the man. If any answer to this letter was written by Whitefoord, he might have solved the mystery, for he was a close friend of Woodfall, Junius's publisher, and may have known the great secret.

Note 12. Mrs. Macaulay was, no doubt, the famous widow of Smollett's friend and financial helper to whom so many of the letters in this collection were written. I find no foundation for the rumor that she had retired; her marriage to William Graham, which caused much scandal because of the disparity in ages of the bride and the groom, did not occur until 1778.

Note 13. Mr. Renner was an Englishman in business at Leghorn who apparently acted as Smollett's agent. He is mentioned in several letters from Armstrong and John Gray to Smollett (see Anderson, i, 187 ff.).

Letter 71, Page 107

This letter was printed, in part, in the *Scots Magazine* for May, 1805, and copied by Anderson (i, 172). The MS. is now at Cameron, and the full text, here given, is due to the kindness of Major Telfer-Smollett.

Note 1. This Alexander Telfer was Smollett's nephew, the oldest son of the Alexander Telfer to whom Letter 15 was addressed and of Jean Smollett, the novelist's sister. At his father's death in 1760 he came into the estates of Scotston and Symington, hence the titles "Squire" and "Laird" given jocularly in this letter. There is a tradition that Smollett had once hoped that his daughter Elizabeth might marry this nephew, who is also supposed to be the original of Jerry Melford, in *Humphry Clinker*. The lady whom Alexander Telfer the younger really did marry, Miss Cecilia Renton, is also mentioned in that novel as the "charming Miss R——n." (See Jerry Melford's letter from Edinburgh, dated August 8.) In 1789, on the death of his mother, Alexander Telfer inherited the estate of Bonhill, and, following her example, assumed the name of Smollett. From him the present Telfer-Smolletts are descended.

Note 2. For the Commissary (James Smollett of Bonhill), see Letter 67, Note 2. As Tobias was this gentleman's heir, he had to be informed of any improvements to be made in the estate. Of course Tobias never did inherit, since he died before his cousin.

Note 3. I cannot further identify Mr. Cochrane.

Note 4. Of Sir David Murray I can find only conflicting and meagre notices. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1770, contains an undated announcement of the death, at Leghorn, of Sir David Murray, Bart. The *Scots*

Magazine for October, 1770, announced the death, at Leghorn, of David Murray, Esq., only son of Charles Murray, Esq., of Stanhope.

Note 5. In Doran's book, *Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence* (1876), ii, 219, is a letter from Horace Mann to Walpole containing further particulars of the earthquake which so terrified the inhabitants of Leghorn. Smollett's coolness during the panic is characteristic of him.

Note 6. I have been unable to identify George Cowper.

Note 7. Mrs. Telfer, Alexander's wife, was the Miss Renton mentioned in Note 1, above. The present village of Renton, in Dumbartonshire, was named after this lady by her mother-in-law, on whose estate it sprang up.

Note 8. Telfer's mother was Smollett's sister, Jean (see Note 1, above).

Note 9. Captain James Telfer was a younger brother of Smollett's correspondent.

Note 10. Although the genealogy in Irving contains no such person, Anderson states (i, 4) that Smollett's sister had a daughter named Jane. If this is correct, "Jeanny" would refer to the writer's niece.

Letter 72, Page 108

This fragment was printed in the *Scots Magazine* for May, 1805, and copied by Anderson (i, 173) and Hannay (p. 158). My search for the MS. has so far been in vain, although it must have been preserved into the nineteenth century.

Note 1. See Letter 63, Note 1.

Note 2. Mr. Hannay (p. 158) has already commented on the grim jocularity of this note as typical of the humor of Tobias Smollett, M.D.

Letter 73, Page 109

The MS. of this hitherto unpublished letter is now in the possession of L. Bamberger, Esq., of Newark, N. J., to whose generosity I owe the opportunity to inspect and copy the letter. In the MS. the date 1771 has been added, in pencil, at the bottom of the page. The handwriting of the letter itself is undoubtedly Smollett's.

Note 1. The MS. lacks an address. I believe that it was written to the Mr. Renner mentioned in Letter 70 as Smollett's agent at Leghorn, a man with whom he seems to have been on friendly terms. John Gray visited Smollett at Monte Nero, and in letters written after that visit wished to be particularly remembered to Mr. and Mrs. Renner and Miss Fanny.* Moreover, as the letter shows, it was written on business matters to be transacted with an Italian, and it would naturally be Renner to whom Smollett would apply in such circumstances. Finally, the recipient of this letter, like Mr. Renner, evidently resided in Leghorn.

Note 2. Giardino was the name of Smollett's residence on the slope of Monte Nero. It is now, according to P. Vigo's *Livorno* (Bergamo, n. d., p. 116) called Villa Gamba.

Note 3. I have found no trace of Mr. Favilla — apparently he was a banker at Lucca.

* These letters of Gray to Smollett are printed in Anderson, i, 192 ff.

Note 4. As the zecchine, according to *N. E. D.*, was worth about ten shillings, the sum here mentioned was about fifty dollars, but with a purchasing power of considerably more than that.

Note 5. *N. E. D.* defines "Paul" as "an obsolete Italian silver coin worth about fivepence sterling."

Note 6. I cannot identify Domenicho.

Note 7. If my surmise that this letter was written to Mr. Renner be correct, "Nanny & Kitty" were probably his daughters. John Gray's message to "Miss Fanny" (see Note 1, above) may have been misprinted for "Miss Nanny."

Note 8. I cannot identify Captain St. Barbe.

Note 9. Lucca Baths was and is a well-known watering place fifteen miles from Lucca. From this fact and the trip which Smollett was proposing to take (see the opening sentence of the letter) some interesting conclusions may be drawn. Although the letter lacks a year-date, it must have been written in 1771, as only in that year did August 21 fall on a Wednesday. Now all of Smollett's biographers have agreed that during his last days in Italy he went into a profound decline. Thus Hannay writes (p. 157): "Disease must have confined him to his house, and have shut him off from society, even more than his multifarious occupations had done in London."

But this letter was written just twenty-seven days before his death. In it he plans to journey over abominable trails fifteen miles to Lucca and another twelve to Pisa, where he was to spend the night. The following day he was to proceed to Leghorn in time for dinner, — another fifteen miles, — and go on to the Giardino, four miles out of town, afterward. For the state of travel in Tuscany at this time con-

sult *The Story of Lucca* by Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen (1912), pp. 327 ff. This was certainly no journey for a man at death's door to contemplate with such nonchalance! After that trip he anticipated a merry party with "the best part of a Barrel" of wine. Furthermore, the handwriting in the MS. is as vigorous and clear as that of any letter that I have seen. Possibly we have here another example of the efficacy of his favorite prescription, — bathing, — for he had evidently been staying at Lucca Baths for some time, judging from the baggage he mentions. But I am inclined to think, from the tone of the letter, the feats which it foretells, and the significant absence of any reference to his health, that the biographers' portrait of his last days is erroneous: that his health actually improved, and that his death occurred comparatively suddenly. In support of this contention I have, not only this letter, but the surprising vigor with which *Humphry Clinker* was written, and its general tone, which is certainly not that to be expected from an invalid in the last stages of consumption. Such an argument is inconclusive at best. But it finds additional confirmation in letters written to Smollett by Armstrong and Gray, published in Anderson (i, 187 ff.), which have not had the attention they merit. In 1769 Armstrong wrote: "It is needless to say how much I rejoice in your recovery"; from Rome, June 2, 1770, he proposed himself as a companion for a possible "ramble somewhere to the south of France"; and John Gray, soon after his visit to Leghorn, wrote in March, 1771, from Genoa: "I shall be happy . . . to have the agreeable news of your health daily more confirmed."

Against this contention might be quoted Smollett's letter to Hunter (68) in which he jocularly alludes to his mummi-

fied appearance. Its very jocularity militates somewhat against its value as an argument for his extreme invalidism, and in face of the evidence adduced above, plus that of this last letter, it seems that the sentimental picture of the slowly and painfully expiring exiled novelist should be replaced by one far more vivid and more truly after the manner of Tobias Smollett.

Letter 74, Page 110

This fragment was printed by Oliphant Smeaton, in his *Life of Smollett* (Famous Scots Series), p. 95, with the statement that it was from "one of his unpublished letters, now in the possession of Mr. Goring." Although this biography was printed as late as 1897, I have, so far, been unable to discover the Mr. Goring mentioned, or the rest of the MS.

Reference is made to this same fragment as part of a letter to Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, in H. G. Graham's *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*. See introductory note to Letter 5.

Note 1. Betty was his daughter, Elizabeth, who died in 1763. This gives evidence that the letter was written sometime before that date, but I have not ventured to try to place it more accurately. The fragment should be preserved, of course, not only for the sake of completeness in the collection and the possibility that the rest of the letter may be found, but because it gives such a charming picture of Smollett's family life, and allows us to see the man in a light very different from that of the pugnacious journalist.

LIST OF PERSONS ADDRESSED

PERSONS ADDRESSED	LETTER NUMBER
J. Armstrong	1
Barclay	3
Alexander Carlyle	4, 5, 17, 36,* 74
David Garrick	28, 51, 53
John Home	59
David Hume	69
Alexander Hume-Campbell	11
John Hunter	63, 72
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Richard Oswald	9
Alexander Reid	62
Samuel Richardson	25, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50
James Rivington	29
Richard Smith	60
James Smollett (I)	2
James Smollett (II)	22
William Strahan	7, 32
Alexander Telfer (I)	15
Alexander Telfer (II)	71
Caleb Whitefoord	70
John Wilkes	39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 52, 54
D. Wilson	35
Unknown	37, 73

* Conjectural.

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Numbers, except when otherwise indicated, refer to pages. References to Smollett's various works have been grouped under Smollett, Tobias, Publications. The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

S..... Tobias Smollett.
H..... *A Compleat History of England.*
C. R..... *Critical Review.*
P. P..... *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle.*
R. R..... *The Adventures of Roderick Random.*

Adam, R. B., xi, 135, 203.
Akenside, Dr. Mark, a "wrong-headed Platonist," 60; ridiculed in *P. P.*, 184; his *Call of Aristippus* praised in *C. R.*, 184; appears in *H.*, 184, 198; his friendship for Cooper, 185.
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